NOVEL AUTHORITY:

ELIZA HAYWOOD AND THE PROBLEM OF JUDGMENT

by

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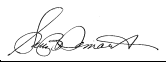
Signature:	
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ABSTRACT

This thesis disrupts competing interpretations about Eliza Haywood's sexual attitudes and political alliances by focusing on the innovative elements of her work that foster the multiguity that leads to such debates. Specifically, this thesis argues that, throughout her work, Haywood is in dialogue with the male-dominated sceptical tradition. Haywood, by employing the narrative elements of various genres that put pressure on the tensions between scepticism and credulity—genres such as apparition narratives, mock-history, travel narratives, and legal discourse—engages with debates about knowledge and judgment that troubled her contemporaries and dominated print culture. By doing so, she unsettles and challenges conventional understandings of scepticism that privilege custom and tradition. Most studies of eighteenth-century scepticism and literature neglect work by women writers, including Haywood; therefore, this study also challenges conventional understandings of what constitutes sceptical literature in the eighteenth century. As a woman writer, Haywood privileges scepticism over credulity even as she challenges custom and seeks to discover a reliable standard of judgment that is functional in a liberal society. To this end, Haywood fosters and develops the judgment and autonomy of her readers by either shifting authority onto them, or by offering model standards of judgment for them. This thesis examines four works from four genres across four decades of Haywood's career: *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* (1724), *The Adventures of Eovaai* (1736), *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746), and *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* (1753). The first two chapters discuss the nature and development of Haywood's extreme scepticism in the 1720s and 1730s. Chapters three and four show how, in the

1740s and 1750s, Haywood introduces processes of sociable judgment that begin to mitigate the scepticism of her earlier work.

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DEDICATION

To Billy and Reese, may you always find just the right balance of scepticism and belief, doubt and trust.

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INTRODUCTION:

ELIZA HAYWOOD AND THE SCEPTICAL TRADITION

In an episode from Book 3 of *The Invisible Spy*, the narrator, Explorabilis, secretly observes a woman whom he has heard possesses great quantities of wit and charm. At first glance, he finds no evidence to suggest that she merits such praise; nevertheless, he writes, '[A]s I thought it unfair to give a verdict on mere appearances, I suspended my judgment of her understanding 'till I had more substantial proofs'.[1] Although this passage focuses on what seems to be a relatively trivial matter of judgment, it signals three central problems that pervade Eliza Haywood's work: the reliability of other people's testimony, the reliability of appearances, and the proper processes of judgment in the face of uncertainty. These problems also constitute the focus of this thesis, in which I argue that Haywood, throughout her career, is in dialogue with male traditions about these specific problems of judgment. With this argument I challenge readings of Haywood that focus on her efforts to establish authority only within a 'feminine province', and instead I argue that Haywood's interest in authority extends beyond the domestic sphere, not only into the realm of politics, which by now has been well documented, but also into other areas—such as natural philosophy, historical discourse, travel narratives, and legal discourse—that serve as flashpoints for debates about scepticism and credulity. Specifically, I argue that Haywood is a sceptical writer who challenges what Michael McKeon calls the 'naïve empiricism' of the early eighteenth century. By demonstrating Haywood's scepticism, I also

[1] Eliza Haywood, *The Invisible Spy*, ed. Carol Stewart (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014; repr. New York: Routledge, 2016), 338. Kindle edition.

challenge conceptions of early eighteenth-century scepticism that rest almost entirely on a male tradition. Furthermore, this thesis demonstrates that Haywood's scepticism fosters narrative innovations in her work that have been overlooked. These narrative innovations occur as Haywood's texts unsettle authorial authority and, instead, shift interpretive authority and judgment onto the reader. Important to my argument, however, is that this position of readerly authority is not a comfortable one. Rather, even as Haywood puts the reader in a position to judge, she demonstrates that a significant level of anxiety inheres within such a position. This anxiety is crucial to Haywood's sceptical pedagogy and has received insufficient attention, as other epistemological themes, such as curiosity and secrecy, have dominated Haywood scholarship. Essentially, this anxiety is pushed upon the reader who must learn to negotiate narratives from unreliable 'relators', and who, therefore, develop a 'novel authority', by which I mean a capacity to exercise their authority both as novel readers and as autonomous individuals in a liberal society.

In order to demonstrate Haywood's sceptical aesthetic, I study four different texts, in four different genres, across four different decades. This approach offers a 'long view' of Haywood's work, to use Juliette Merritt's language, that considers 'a [sustained] set of preoccupations and strategies' throughout her career.[2] Paula Backscheider has also advocated this approach, recommending inquiries that 'connect [Haywood's] texts, including those from the 1720s and from the 1750s, to each other in meaningful ways'.[3] In keeping with her inquiry, I seek

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[2] Juliette Merritt, *Beyond Spectacle: Eliza Haywood's Female Spectators* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 5.

[3] Paula Backscheider, 'The Story of Eliza Haywood's Novels: Caveats and Questions', in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood: Essays on Her Life and*

to show how texts across Haywood's career consistently feature the problems of judgment. In addition to offering a long view, my study offers a broad view because it examines how themes of scepticism inform a diversity of genres. In the first two chapters, I discuss the nature of Haywood's scepticism as it develops in the 1720s and 1730s. To represent these decades, I look at *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* (1724), a biography (of sorts) that has been unjustifiably neglected, and *The Adventures of Eovaai* (1736), a satire that is Haywood's most political work. With these texts, I show that Haywood is in dialogue with natural philosophers and historians, and I show how her extreme scepticism puts the reader in a position of anxious authority. In chapters three and four, I show how, in the 1740s and 1750s, Haywood, while maintaining her focus on doubt, invokes the imagination to mitigate the extreme scepticism of her earlier texts. In chapter three, I examine the periodical *The Female Spectator* (1744-46), showing how Haywood unsettles authority through her use of travel narratives, and in chapter four I show that in *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* (1753), which critics have largely dismissed, Haywood invokes both imagination and legal discourse as sociable strategies for mitigating scepticism.

Haywood's Crisis of Judgment and the Sceptic's *Epoché*

In his contribution to a 2010 special issue of *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, Vivasvan Soni claims that the literature of the eighteenth century reflects a crisis of judgment that modern scholars have not only failed to properly analyse but also have replicated today. He describes this crisis as 'an

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Work, ed. Kirsten T. Saxton and Rebecca P. Bocchicchio (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 20.

unprecedented concealment of the space of autonomous judgment', characterizing the two opposing poles that contribute to the problem and short-circuit the process of judgment. As he puts it, 'On the one hand, empiricism, realism, and sentimentalism seek to determine judgment too quickly or bypass it altogether; on the other hand, a nascent aestheticism finds its vocation in the suspension of judgment. Where, then, are we to find the resources to think an alternative practice of judgment?'[4] Soni's answer to this question is *the novel*, but he suggests that not all eighteenth-century novels provide such space. Rather, he says, it is only the novels that resist traditions of sentimentalism, realism, and didacticism that 'take the problem of judgment seriously'. For Soni, such novels from the eighteenth century are those written by Henry Fielding, Jean-Jacque Rousseau, William Godwin, and Jane Austen. This is not a surprising list. However, in this thesis, I suggest that his list neglects the degree to which women writers before Jane Austen have engaged with the problems of autonomy and judgment, and I specifically seek to include Eliza Haywood among those authors known for their focus on these problems. Although Haywood is sometimes characterized as a didactic writer, which, according to Soni's criteria would exclude her from consideration, in actuality, many of her texts are difficult to finalize and, therefore, foreground the crisis Soni identifies. Moreover, the tensions within the body of her life's work are particularly difficult to reconcile or resolve, and these tensions make visible the 'space of autonomous judgment' that Soni describes.

My strategy of addressing these tensions is to recognize the thread of scepticism that develops in Haywood's work after *Love in Excess*—a thread that

[4] Vivasvan Soni, 'Committing Freedom: The Cultivation of Judgment in Rousseau's *Emile* and Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', *The Eighteenth Century* 51.3 (2010): 363.

includes continued attention to how individuals can make judgments that are both reliable, by which I mean *true* or *correct*, and good, which can sometimes mean moral but, for Haywood, and for my analysis, more often means *prudent*.[5] This sceptical thread in Haywood has been little studied in individual texts and has not been considered across her body of work. Consequently, it has silently complicated and even undermined the progress of Haywood studies. A few scholars have examined problems of knowing within Haywood's work—Earla Wilputte, Kathryn King, and Karen Bloom Gevirtz are noteworthy examples—but more attention is needed to properly reconsider Haywood as not only an Arbitress of Passion but as an Arbiter of Judgment. As Kathryn King writes in the epilogue to *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood*,

> Insufficient attention has been paid to Haywood's representations of lies, secrecy and hidden lives and to her imaginative attention to a cluster of closely related Enlightenment themes: scepticism, credulity, collective delusion on the part of an easily infatuated public, the power of print to represent and misrepresent . . . . The day is coming, I would guess, when the Enlightenment themes will elicit from a new generation of readers much the same kind of rapt attention that has been given to her sex-and-gender themes.[6]

This 'cluster of closely related themes' forms a constellation that joins up the specific problems related to judgment and autonomy. Therefore, in this thesis, I

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[5] For arguments about Haywood's focus on prudence and pragmatism, see Merritt, *Beyond Spectacle*, 22; Ann Messenger, *His and Hers: Essays in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 110; Marilyn Williamson, *Raising Their Voices: British Women Writers, 1650-1750* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 239.

[6] Kathryn R. King, *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 198.

examine the various points in this constellation, and I demonstrate that by recognizing the relationship between them in Haywood's work, one not only can observe and study the crisis of judgment that Soni describes, but also one can gain a better understanding of Haywood's politics, the genres of her texts, and her role in the development of the novel and its readers.

Specifically, I claim that this constellation of themes joins up in Haywood to figure a kind of Cartesian scepticism that illuminates the importance of doubt in the process of judgment. This scepticism, which, for Haywood, is sometimes extreme, has a wide breadth of influences, including amatory fiction, biographical narratives, natural philosophy, historical discourse, travel narratives, and legal discourse, and these influences both inform the content of Haywood's texts and shape her experiments with narrative form. One of the most significant features of Haywood's scepticism is the way it foregrounds the burdens and anxieties inherent to autonomy, authority, and the process of judgment. In discussions about Haywood and authority, the importance of these anxieties has gone unaddressed. Although scholars have studied Haywood's establishment of herself as a writer with authority, they have not studied the degree to which Haywood characterizes this authority as so difficult to employ.[7]

Soni describes the eighteenth-century crisis of judgment as the tension between the reliance on predetermined norms (a reliance that effectively short-circuits any true process of judgment) and a permanent suspension of judgment

[7] For studies of Haywood's authority, see, for example, Merritt, *Beyond Spectacle*; Jane Spencer, *The Rise of the Woman Novelist: From Aphra Behn to Jane Austen* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Sarah Prescott and Jane Spencer, 'Prattling, Tattling, and Knowing Everything: Public Authority and the Female Editorial Persona in the Early Essay-Periodical', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23 (2000): 43-57.

(in which one refuses to judge or, at least, claims to do so). He equates the first with a conservative reliance on societal norms, and the second with philosophical scepticism and much of aesthetic literary theory. Although Haywood's texts occasionally privilege predetermined, heteronomous norms, many of her texts emphasize instead the need for reflective, autonomous judgment that challenges precepts. Haywood focuses not only on the right (or rightness) of such judgment and autonomy, but also (and especially) on the burden and anxiety of such judgments. This anxiety leads Haywood to privilege the temporary suspension of judgment in the face of uncertainty, as can been seen in the example from *The Invisible Spy* with which I began this introduction. In what might be called 'pure' scepticism, the suspension of judgment, or *epoché*, is a permanent refusal to judge that stems from the assertion that perceptions and ideas cannot be trusted to grant true knowledge and, consequently, no reliable judgments can be made; therefore, true knowledge need not be pursued and judgments *should* not be made. This scepticism, typically called *pyrrhonism* because it originated with the Greek philosopher Pyrrho (360 BCE – 270 BCE), is also found in the writings of Sextus Empiricus (160 CE – 210 CE), another Greek sceptic whose writings were a significant influence on French philosophers such as Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592), Francois de la Mothe Le Vayer (1588-1672), Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), Rene Descartes (1596-1650), and Pierre Bayle (1647-1706). Although not all of these philosophers were absolute sceptics, they were all influenced by the *crise pyrrhonise* that challenged and unsettled early modern thinkers.[8]

[8] See Richard Popkin, *The History of Scepticism: From Savonarola to Bayle*, revised and expanded ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); John Christian Laursen and Gianni Paganini, ed., *Skepticism and Political Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Los Angeles: University of Toronto Press in association with

Haywood's scepticism, however, does not feature the permanent suspension of judgment associated with pyrrhonists. Rather, hers is a temporary suspension, like that which characterizes Cartesian scepticism. In pyrrhonism, the *epoché*, or point of suspension, is located at the *end* of inquiry: it is a place for an individual to rest with the understanding that knowledge cannot be achieved, so there need be no irritable reaching after it. For Descartes, however, the suspension of judgment is at the *beginning* of inquiry and serves to provide space for the reflective judgment that is about to begin. Essentially, this means, of course, that Descartes was not truly a sceptic but rather that he used the *attitude* of scepticism, by which I mean its emphasis on doubt, as a way of testing and evaluating perceptions and judgments. As Christian Thorne puts it,

> [O]ne of scepticism's central notions is the suspension of judgment or *epoché*, that moment in which dogmatic knowledge claims loosen their grip on cognition. But what kind of skepticism you get depends entirely on where in your philosophical narrative you place this *epoché*. Descartes, like Husserl after him, installs *epoché* at the beginning of the philosophical project: philosophy begins when you agree to set aside everything you think you know about yourself and the world. Pyrrhonist skepticism, by contrast, thinks of *epoché* as the trapdoor out of philosophy. . . . If we go by this thumbnail scheme, it seems fair to say that Cartesian skepticism isn't really skepticism at all: its doubt is there only to be overcome. It is a straw target in an

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the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2015), 17-35; Christian Thorne, *The Dialectic of Counter-Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 19-116.

> elaborately orchestrated anti-skepticism, engineered to find a way out of doubt.[9]

As Thorne explains, Descartes used his method of doubt to show the ultimate absurdity of scepticism. Nevertheless, he is still associated with sceptical thinking, which is a careful inquiry dominated by doubt. One key distinction between Descartes and Haywood, however, is that Haywood's scepticism is not 'engineered'. Her scepticism and doubt are the results of the problems faced by the modern individual in daily life (as one can see in her earliest amatory fiction). In daily life, however, especially in the daily lives of women, judgments typically cannot be permanently suspended, so there is an urgent need to overcome doubt. This need is a source of interest and anxiety for Haywood, and its pressure is felt throughout her work.

I call Haywood's scepticism *Cartesian* for a few reasons. First, despite the fact that Haywood's scepticism is at times extreme, implying that knowledge might be impossible to achieve through the senses and that right judgment might be impossible to achieve through reason, she does not reach the same conclusions or implications as the pyrrhonist sceptics do. Pyrrho and his descendants, which include both Sextus and Montaigne, suggest that one can never know what is true and therefore inquiry is futile. In contrast, Haywood's texts consistently suggest that one *must* make all efforts to find truth and make good judgments, despite the difficulty (or near impossibility) of doing so, and, as one engages in these efforts, one should be impartial, consider all objections, and anticipate possible deception. These strategies reflect Descartes's method of doubt. Second, because the

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[9] Christian Thorne, *The Dialectic of Counter-Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2009), 33; See also Popkin, *History of Scepticism*, 143-57.

pyrrhonists assert that truth and morality cannot be known, they assert that the only way to act (privately or publicly) is to follow custom. This means that, regarding government or religion, sceptics will follow custom and precepts and traditional sources of authority. In contrast, despite Haywood's scepticism about knowledge and judgment, she does not consistently advocate adherence to custom. Rather, throughout her texts, she calls for reflective, autonomous judgment, and at times, her texts directly challenge customs and precepts. In this way, Haywood is more of a doubting Cartesian than a true pyrrhonist. Third, I characterize Haywood's scepticism as Cartesian because of her rationalism. Even though Haywood can be quite sceptical about an individual's ability to reason well, she is, as I will show, even more sceptical about the reliability of our sensory perceptions.

Despite her rationalism, however, there are also important connections between Haywood's interest in judgment and John Locke's interest in judgment. As I focus on Haywood's anxiety about the employment of authority and the exercise of judgment and autonomy, it is worth recognising that John Locke, a proponent of liberal government, shared these anxieties. Douglas Casson describes Locke's anxiety this way:

> The problem of judgment lurks at the very centre of the tradition of liberal theory. Here we find a seemingly contradictory view of human reasonableness. The plausibility of consensual government rests on faith in human judgment and the trust that those around us will make more or less reasonable judgments concerning the

> common good. Yet it also relies on the widespread suspicion of the ways people arrive at and defend their judgments.[10]

Hobbes addressed this tension by placing absolute authority with the sovereign, essentially implementing the default position of the pyrrhonist sceptics.[11] Casson says that although Locke's first response to the 'crisis of authority' was sceptical and, like Hobbes's position, 'absolutist', he eventually moved toward a liberal theory based on 'probable judgment'.[12] As a result, according to Casson, Locke seeks through his writings to 'transform his readers into the type of citizens who are able to think, judge, and act in ways that are conducive to self-government'.[13] Casson says that Locke creates a 'pedagogy' of judgment. Locke does this, however, based on his conclusion that experience can provide a common vocabulary and standard by which to make reasonable judgments, thereby allowing separate autonomous individuals to have a shared standard of judgment. Although Haywood shares the anxieties of Locke and the sceptics who preceded him, she rejects not only the pyrrhonists' position of following custom, but she also rejects the Lockean notion that experience can be a standard for judgment. Haywood's texts show that she had too many doubts about the reliability of individual experience to share Locke's conclusions about its relationship to probability. In

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[10] Douglas Casson, *Liberating Judgment: Fanatics, Skeptics, and John Locke's Politics of Probability* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 2.
[11] On Hobbes and absolute sovereignty see Sylvia Giocanti, 'Obeying Laws and Customs of the Country: Living in Disorder and Barbarity. The Powerlessness of Political Skepticism According to the *Discours sceptiques* (1657) of Samuel Sorbiere', in *Skepticism and Political Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. John Christian Laursen and Gianni Paganini (Los Angeles: University of Toronto Press in association with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2015), 114; Casson, *Liberating Judgment*, 248.
[12] Casson, *Liberating Judgment*, 20-21.
[13] Ibid., 2 and 10.

fact, it is Haywood's resistance to both the Hobbesian solution and the Lockean solution, in spite of her scepticism, that make her work so interesting and important as Enlightenment fiction.

Haywood, of course, was not the first woman writer to question custom. Many before her had done so. As Hilda Smith points out, Bathsua Makin (c. 1600 – c. 1675) 'saw custom at the heart of women's problems', and Mary Astell (1666-1731) urged women to use Cartesian methods to 'examine "the Doctrine on Precept of Christianity, the Reasons and Authority on which it is built"'.[14] Smith also quotes a particularly apt poem by Sara Fyge Egerton that explicitly challenges whether or not customs and precepts are legitimate authorities for women:

> Shall I be the one, of those obsequious Fools,
> That square there lives, by Customs scanty Rules;
> Condemn'd for ever, to the puny Curse,
> Of Precepts taught, at Boarding-school, or Nurse,
> That all the business of my Life must be,
> Foolish, dull Trifling, Formality.
> Confin'd to a strict Magick complaisance,
> And round a Circle, of nice visits Dance,

[14] Hilda L. Smith, 'Intellectual Bases for Feminist Analyses: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Women and Reason*, ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Kathleen Okruhlik (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 29 and 30. See also Judy M. Cornett, who says, 'Astell, as well as her contemporaries and her successors, hoped to benefit from the egalitarian implications of Descartes's disembodiment of Reason; however, in arguing for women's intellectual equality, these writers struggled to overcome the inertia of Custom, which they identified as the source of women's social and legal subordination', in Cornett, '"Hoodwink'd by Custom": The Exclusion of Women from Juries in Eighteenth-Century Law and Literature', *William and Mary Journal of Women and the Law*, 4.1 (1997), 42.

Nor for my Life beyond the Chalk advance.[15]

Smith cites these seventeenth-century women writers, in part, to defend their interest in reason and autonomy, both of which were ways of knowing that became somewhat anathema in the 1980s among some feminist literary critics who focused on communicative reason and, especially, relational thinking as explained by Carol Gilligan in her 1982 book on moral reasoning, *In a Different Voice*. In the 1980s interest in autonomous thinking became contrary to the feminist project that focused more on women's 'ways of knowing'.[16] However, as Smith argues, these seventeenth-century women's defences of their reason and their desire for authority were central to their progress during the Enlightenment period. Haywood shared the suspicion of precept expressed by her precursors, but this suspicion was at odds with sceptical philosophy and, especially, sceptical politics. It is not surprising, then, that the tension between her suspicion of knowledge and her suspicion of precept dominates much of her work.

Scepticism in Eighteenth-Century Literature

The influence of scepticism in eighteenth-century literature has been studied; however, existing studies focus almost entirely on male writers. Eve Tavor Bannet's 1987 monograph *Scepticism, Society, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* employs the methods of George Lukacs and Lucien Goldman as it examines

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[15] Egerton's 'The Liberty', qtd. in Smith, 'Intellectual Bases', 21.

[16] See Marie Fleming, 'Women's Place in Communicative Reason', in *Women and Reason*, ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Kathleen Okruhlik (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 245-62; Susan Bordo, 'Feminist Skepticism and the "Maleness" of Philosophy', in *Women and Reason*, 143-162; Hina Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments: Judgment and Autonomy in the Age of Sensibility* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 15; Lorraine Code, *What Can She Know? Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

scepticism as part of the 'sociology of literature', and it includes chapters on Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and Sterne.[17] In the same year, Michael McKeon published his influential *Origins of the English Novel: 1600-1740*, in which he argues that the novel developed dialogically as it moved from 'romance idealism' to 'naïve empiricism', then from 'naïve empiricism' to 'extreme skepticism', and finally from 'extreme scepticism' back to some elements of 'romance idealism' (which McKeon equates with 'conservative ideology').[18] McKeon focuses on Cervantes, Bunyan, Defoe, Swift, Richardson, and Fielding. About 15 years later, in 2003, Fred Parker published *Scepticism and Literature: An Essay on Pope, Hume, Sterne, and Johnson* in which he explores 'skeptical thinking' in literature as it manifests through playfulness and irony.[19] Although these texts serve as helpful foundations for any consideration of scepticism in eighteenth-century literature, their neglect of women writers is problematic. Granted, Bannet and McKeon's studies were published in the early days of the recovery of eighteenth-century women writers, but the omission is still noteworthy, especially since even more recent studies that investigate scepticism have continued to focus primarily on male writers and overlook Haywood almost entirely. James Noggle's 2001 study of the 'skeptical sublime', for example, looks only at Pope, Swift, and other male satirists.[20] William

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[17] Eve Tavor, *Scepticism, Society, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 2. This author's more recent publications are under the name Eve Tavor Bannet. Because she is well known by the latter name, I will refer to her consistently as Bannet within my text. However, in footnotes and the bibliography for this early work on scepticism, I will cite her as Eve Tavor, when applicable.

[18] Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel*, *1600-1740*, 15th anniv. ed. (Baltimore: John's Hopkins University Press, 2002), 21.

[19] Fred Parker, *Scepticism and Literature: An Essay on Pope, Hume, Sterne, and Johnson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 2.

[20] James Noggle, *The Skeptical Sublime: Aesthetic Ideology in Pope and the Tory Satirists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Donoghue's 2002 study of skepticism and fiction does not mention Haywood, despite having a chapter titled, 'Skepticism, Sensibility, and the Novel'.[21] Sarah Tindal Kareem's *Eighteenth-Century Fiction and the Reinvention of Wonder* focuses mostly on male writers including Defoe, Hume, Fielding, Walpole, and Raspe. She does give significant attention to Jane Austen and Mary Shelley, but Haywood goes unmentioned.[22] Ricardo Capoferro's *Empirical Wonder: Historicizing the Fantastic, 1660-1760* discusses women writers in the context of the supernatural, a topic which frequently invokes questions related to scepticism, and he does mention Haywood, but he does so only briefly when he discusses her Duncan Campbell texts, quickly concluding that *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* is 'pure entertainment' and that it 'does not directly engage with epistemological problems'.[23] Christian Thorne, in his excellent study of scepticism in the Enlightenment, gives significant attention to Aphra Behn's drama, but he only briefly mentions women novelists. His discussion of Haywood (which spans just a couple of pages) characterizes her, along with Behn and Jane Barker, as an author of 'anti-romances', which he frames as 'love stories that never get off the ground' and that 'are the death-rattle of an aristocratic culture of courtly love'.[24] Rather, it is Defoe's *Roxana*, Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, and Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* that receive the bulk of Thorne's attention in his chapter called 'Skepticism and the Novel'.

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[21] William Donoghue, *Enlightenment Fiction in England, France, and America* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002).
[22] Sarah Tindall Kareem, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction and the Reinvention of Wonder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[23] Ricardo Capoferro, *Empirical Wonder: Historicizing the Fantastic, 1660-1760* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 140.
[24] Thorne, *The Dialectic of Counter-Enlightenment*, 270. His usage of 'anti-romance' suggests that he does not mean 'romance' in its true generic sense, but rather he means 'love' or 'courtship'.

This association of scepticism with male writers, perhaps even with masculinity, itself, is not a new one. Damaris Masham (1659-1708) suggests as much in a letter to John Locke when she states, 'Besides being myself cur'd of some sort of Scepticisme by arguments However solid in themselves have been to me effectual, I think that I may much more Advantageously employ my Houres in Purusing the end of these Speculations then [sic] in Indeavoring to Extricate those Difficulties that the Witts of Men have Intangled them with'.[25] Here, Masham suggests that men perseverate needlessly on the entanglements of argument and that women do not. Certainly, in the eighteenth century, scepticism was associated with the natural philosophers who were almost all male. Karen Bloom Gevirtz, in *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy, 1660-1727*, notes that '[a]utonomous action and independent perception and analysis were not part of conventional femininity'.[26] Such eighteenth-century restraints, however, do not fully explain the regular exclusion of women from late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century studies of scepticism in eighteenth-century literature. This exclusion seems especially significant if one takes seriously Eve Tavor Bannet's claim that '[t]he eighteenth-century fictions which twentieth-century criticism has characterized both as "novels" and "good novels", all grow out of the eighteenth-century skeptical tradition'.[27]

Certainly the lack of modern editions (especially before the digitization of archives) impaired readers' knowledge and understanding of writers like Haywood. Conclusions were drawn based on limited exposure to Haywood's body

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[25] Masham qtd. in Sarah Hutton, 'Damaris Cudworth, Lady Masham: Between Platonism and Enlightenment', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 1.1 (1993): 48.
[26] Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 72
[27] Tavor, *Scepticism*, 1.

of work, and perhaps such limitations led critics like John Richetti to conclude in 1998 that Haywood's ideas of conduct are focused on the 'customary' and 'traditional' rather than on the 'rational patterns' we see later in works such as *Pamela*.[28] For Richetti, Haywood's complexity pales even next to Behn and Manley's. He says,

> [I]n Behn and Manley, the narrative voice suggests an alternative way of reading for more than enjoyable fantasy and that voice distinguishes itself as a moral intelligence from the thoughtless, merely hedonistic characters in the fiction itself. Haywood's writing is largely another story in which the reader is offered intense and uncritical involvement in passions, white-hot excitements, and deliciously unbearable tragedies.

For Richetti, Haywood's texts are less complex that Behn's and Manley's, even though the latter have fairly unambiguous political implications. Even Ros Ballaster claimed in 1992 that '[t]he business of Haywood's amatory plots is to engage the female reader's sympathy and erotic pleasure, rather than stimulate intellectual judgment'.[29] Recent criticism has, of course, corrected these early, reductivist assessments, and Ballaster, herself, has changed her evaluation of Haywood's work;[30] however, general studies of scepticism and judgment still exclude Haywood and most women writers, except for Jane Austen. Another cause of exclusion might come from the reality that the feminist scholars of the 1980s

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[28] John Richetti, *The English Novel in History, 1700-1780* (London: Routledge, 1999), 8.
[29] Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684-1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; repr. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 170.
[30] Ros Ballaster, 'A Gender of Opposition: Eliza Haywood's Scandal Fiction', in Saxton and Bocchicchio, *Passionate Fictions*, 143-167.

and early 1990s who were recovering these writers were sometimes those same theorists who challenged the reality of the self, the nature of autonomy, and rationality as legitimate categories of knowing, so they might have been less interested in this particular approach to a writer like Haywood.[31] A final explanation can be found in a problem that Vivasvan Soni identifies in Austen scholarship. He claims that many readers approach Austen with a predetermined hermeneutic that leads them either to 'finding in her pedagogy of judgment a conservative reinforcing of norms or "rescuing" her from the charge of conservatism'.[32] I would argue that, perhaps, the same problem occurs with Haywood. If one reads Haywood's work in order to determine whether or not she is conservative or progressive, one can overlook other themes as well as important elements of her narrative structure. Thus, there is a need, as Kathryn King suggests, for additional consideration of Haywood's epistemological concerns beyond the binary readings of 'sexually progressive' versus 'sexually conservative'.

Even though scholars have not previously identified Haywood's place within the sceptical tradition, they have, in fact, begun to study philosophical concepts in her work, and several of them serve as foundations for this study.[33] Most influential for my consideration of scepticism and judgment are Earla

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[31] See Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments*, 15; Bordo, 'Feminist Skepticism, 143-62.
[32] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 371
[33] See, for example, Jonathan Brody Kramnick, 'Locke, Haywood, and Consent', *ELH* 72.2 (2005): 453-70; Helen Thompson, 'Betsy Thoughtless and the Persistence of Coquettish Volition', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 4.1 (2004): 102-26; Helen Thompson, '"In *Idea*, a thousand nameless Joys": Secondary Qualities in Arnauld, Locke and Haywood's *Lasselia*', *The Eighteenth Century* 48.3 (2007): 225-43; Joseph Drury, 'Haywood's Thinking Machines', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 21.2 (2008-9): 201-28; Rebecca Tierney-Hines, *Novel Minds: Philosophers and Romance Readers, 1680-1740* (London: Palgrave, 2012); Lynn Marie Wright and Donald J. Newman, ed., *Fair Philosopher: Eliza Haywood and 'The Female Spectator'* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006).

Wilputte and Karen Bloom Gevirtz. Wilputte consistently examines the way Haywood's narrative structures impact the reader's potential interpretation of her work. Even though I resist some of her conclusions, Wilputte's writing on *The Adventures of Eovaai* greatly informs my own interpretation of that text, and her arguments about the *Female Spectator* serve as foundations for my own analysis of the periodical. In addition, her recent article about Haywood's *Dalinda* (1749), shares my interest in problems of empiricism and judgment, and it investigates Haywood's interest in legal discourse, an interest I also consider in my chapter about *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*.[34] Karen Bloom Gevirtz's work looks at the 'new science' or natural philosophy of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and her studies of knowledge-making and empiricism have been especially important for my chapters on *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* and *The Adventures of Eovaai*, each of which consider Haywood's dialogue with the natural philosophers. Even beyond those chapters, however, Gevirtz's work has been informative for my own analysis since scepticism is an integral concern for the natural philosophers and those engaged with the 'new science'.[35]

These Haywood scholars, however, do not offer extended consideration of specific issues related to autonomy and judgment, and for these concerns, I rely

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[34] See Earla A. Wilputte, 'The Textual Architecture of Eliza Haywood's *Adventures of Eovaai*', *Essays in Literature* 22.1 (1995): 31-44; Earla A. Wilputte, introduction to *The Adventures of Eovaai,* by Eliza Haywood (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999), 9-34; Wilputte, 'Eliza Haywood's *Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburgh*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 41.3 (2001): 499-514; Wilputte, '"Too ticklish to meddle with": The Silencing of *The Female Spectator*'s Political Correspondents', in Wright and Newman, *Fair Philosopher,* 122-40; Wilputte, 'Haywood's Tabloid Journalism: *Dalinda*: *or, The Double Marriage* and the Cresswell Bigamy Case', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14.4 (2015), 122-42.

[35] See Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*; Gevirtz, "Aphra Behn and the Scientific Self," in *The New Science and Women's Literary Discourse: Prefiguring Frankenstein*, ed. Judy Hayden (New York: Palgrave, 2011), 85-98.

heavily on the theoretical work of Vivasvan Soni and Hina Nazar. Soni's arguments directly inform my argument about Haywood, and my purpose is to demonstrate that the exploration of judgment he describes in Austen can also be found in Haywood's work. Hina Nazar, in her book *Enlightened Sentiments: Judgment and Autonomy in the Age of Sensibility* deals directly with the problems of judgment and autonomy. Like Soni, Nazar parses the distinctions between reflective judgment and determined judgment, and she studies the processes of reflective judgment in the works of Richardson, Rousseau, Godwin, Hume, Adam Smith, and Austen. Her scholarship is a significant influence, in particular, on my argument about *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, in which I assert that an 'enlarged mentality' is a key part of Haywood's response to her earlier scepticism. There are significant distinctions between Nazar's work and, my own, however. The most obvious distinction is that Nazar does not include Haywood in her study. The second distinction, which is an important point to make for this thesis in general, is that I do not label Haywood as a sentimental writer. This means that my analysis is focused on Haywood's concern for reliably correct and prudent judgment rather than on moral judgment or concerns about aesthetics or 'taste'. Although Haywood is not completely unconcerned with sensibilities that connect to taste and morality, and I address these elements to some degree in chapters three and four, those sensibilities are not my central concern in this thesis because, in part, I do not see them as Haywood's central concern, despite the fact that much critical attention has focused on Haywood's 'morality' (or lack thereof) throughout her career.[36] It is, in fact, precisely the on-going debates about Haywood's morality, debates that seem impossible to resolve, that have led me to locate my arguments elsewhere.

[36] For a summary of this criticism, see Backscheider, 'The Story', 19.

The Seeds of Scepticism: Amatory Fiction

It is not surprising that debates continue about Haywood's moral attitudes and political alliances. We have very little certain knowledge about Haywood's biography other than that she was an English playwright, actress, and writer who worked primarily in London and who knew or collaborated with other writers, including Aaron Hill, Richard Savage, Henry Fielding, and William Hatchett.[37] Her publications, which spanned from 1719 to 1756, despite their common themes, differ significantly in terms of their attitudes towards passion, politics, and gender norms. When reading multiple texts by Haywood (and often when reading just a single text), one finds that sometimes passion is good; sometimes it is bad. Sometimes one political alliance seems right; sometimes another seems best. Sometimes young women should obey their parents; sometimes they should not. Alexander Pettit has argued that Haywood 'quite consciously argues for the necessity of "rules" and "customs" as safeguards against feminine error, and furthermore, [that Haywood] believes that "feminine distress" is averted when women act in conformity to custom and ensured when they do not'. In this section, I challenge Pettit's claim, however, and show that sometimes Haywood's heroines must break with custom in order to avoid 'distress'.[38] For Haywood, the

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[37] For biographical information and debates, see George Frisbie Whicher, *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood*, originally published 1915 (Charleston: Biblibazaar, 2006); Christine Blouch, 'Eliza Haywood and the Romance of Obscurity', *SEL: Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 31:3 (1991), 535-51; Kathryn R. King, 'Eliza Haywood, Savage Love, and Biographical Uncertainty', *Review of English Studies* 59 (2008): 722-739; King, A *Political Biography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012).

[38] Alexander Pettit, 'Our Fictions and Haywood's Fictions', in *Talking Forward, Talking Back: Critical Dialogues with the Enlightenment*, eds. Kevin Cope and Rudiger Ahrens (New York: AMS Press, 2002), 146-47.

distinctions typically lie in the circumstances of the individual cases. While such a claim is certainly, to some degree, self-evident, its implications deserve further examination, especially since, if each case is different, its circumstances must be weighed individually, and, as a consequence, the value of societal precepts is decreased and ultimately undermined. A precept that is only worth following *some of the time* is not much of a precept at all. Inevitably, when precepts fail, one must move from determined judgment, by which one judges circumstances against pre-determined rules or principles, to reflective judgment, which Vivasvan Soni calls 'a judgment without a pre-given concept'.[39] As Soni also notes, reflective judgments are those that both require and constitute autonomy. Through Haywood's interest in circumstances, or the significance of 'particularity', her works, to use Soni's phrase, 'take judgment seriously'.

This interest in circumstances reflects a kind of casuistry in Haywood's fiction, or a reliance on case-by-case reasoning. Henry Fielding satirizes this kind of thinking in *Joseph Andrews* through an interpolated tale in which a gentleman narrates his experience as part of a club that follows the 'Rule of Right', which holds that 'there was nothing absolutely good or evil in itself; that Actions were denominated good or bad by the Circumstances of the Agent'.[40] However, the gentleman begins to doubt the 'infallibility' of the club's principles when several members abscond with other members' money, and, in one case, another member's a wife. Despite the danger of this slippery slope, 'casuistical modes of reasoning', as Michael McKeon puts it, are central to the 'the right of resistance to

[39] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 380.
[40] Henry Fielding, '*Joseph Andrews' with 'Shamela' and Related Readings*, ed. Homer Goldberg (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1987), 166.

established authority'.[41] In his analysis of Haywood's 'conduct writing' in *The Female Spectator*, McKeon asserts that Haywood advocates precepts, but he notes that her 'concrete narratives' not only exemplify precepts, but also they 'refine' and 'reform' them. He suggests that Haywood even creates her own precepts (e.g. that women should read natural philosophy). McKeon's use of the word 'precept' here is rather loose in that it is somewhat different from the idea of precept as an authoritative rule, and he implies that precept is not a rigid principle but rather one to be evaluated through practice and circumstantial details. In this sense, he is discussing precepts that result from reflective judgment rather than precepts that guide determined judgment. It is also noteworthy that the precepts McKeon discusses can be somewhat difficult to implement. For example, he says, 'In the first number of *The Female Spectator* Haywood makes a preceptual distinction between a mature love based on a rational apprehension of the other and the more common immaturity of slight infatuation', which, McKeon adds, 'is clarified as the necessity of knowing the sincerity of the other'.[42] However, Haywood shows us that this last part is particularly difficult to do. Haywood's work consistently suggests that true love is to be honoured even under questionable circumstances (one might think of how the narrator of *Lasselia* has empathy for Lasselia, despite her adulterous behaviour), but Haywood's work also makes it clear that it is very difficult to distinguish true love from false love; therefore, following a precept about true love becomes difficult. It is this particular problem that makes her amatory fiction such fertile ground for the seeds of scepticism.

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[41] Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 36.
[42] Ibid., 459.

A scene from the end of Haywood's first novel, *Love in Excess* (1719), serves to illustrate the problems of 'particularity' or circumstance that become enlarged in her subsequent work. About mid-way through the novel, the heroine Melliora absents herself from her guardian, Count D'Elmont, because she loves him but he is married. Since she does not want to be part of an illicit intrigue, she goes to a convent to suffer her love at a safe distance. Later, however, by the end of the novel, D'Elmont is no longer married (because of the accidental death of his wife), so Melliora returns to present herself to the Count. Up to this point in the novel, all of the sexually aggressive characters in the novel have been punished or dismissed, but Melliora, the pillar of proper love, mirrors their sexual aggression when she returns to D'Elmont.[43] In this scene, D'Elmont has retired to his room and is thinking about Melliora. He hears someone enter his room, but, in the candlelight, he can see only enough detail to determine that the intruder is a woman. At first, he thinks she is a servant, but then she speaks, disguising her voice:

> 'I come,' she says, 'to talk to you, and I hope you are more a chevalier than to prefer a little sleep, to the conversation of a lady, tho' she visits you at midnight.' These words made D'Elmont believe he had met with a second Ciamara [a sexually aggressive woman who pursued him earlier in the text], and lest he should find the trouble

[43] For a discussion of punishment of sexually assertive female characters in Haywood, see Pettit, 'Our Fictions', 145.

> with this as he had done with the former, he resolved to put a stop to it at once.[44]

This sexually assertive and socially improper behaviour from Melliora transgresses both custom and decorum and matches the aggressive behaviour seen in other female characters such as Ciamara and Alovysa, and also in Count D'Elmont, himself. This time, to the credit of his virtue, D'Elmont asks the mysterious guest to leave, but she replies, 'Is this the courtly, the accomplished Count D'Elmont? So famed for complaisance and sweetness? Can it be he, who thus rudely repels a lady, when she comes to make him a present of her heart?' (249). He chastises her aggressive action by saying, 'I can esteem the love of a woman, only when 'tis *granted* and think it little worth acceptance, *proffered*' (249).[45] She suggests he will feel differently when he sees her, but, as she goes to get a candle, he is 'so much surprised and vexed at the immodesty and imprudence he believed her guilty of, that he thought he could not put a greater affront upon her, than her behaviour deserved, and turned himself with his face the other way, designing to deny her the satisfaction of even a look' (250). Eventually, Melliora drops her fake accent, at which point, D'Elmont realizes who she is, and, 'forgetting all decorum, he flew out of the bed, catched her in his arms, and almost stifled her with kisses; which she return[ed] with pretty near an equal eagerness' (250).

These exact behaviours—the bedroom ambush, the abandonment of decorum, the excess of kisses, the conversation without full dress—typically signify a *lack* of virtue. However, the particular *circumstances* in this moment are

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[44] Eliza Haywood, *Love in Excess; or The Fatal Inquiry*, ed. David Oakleaf (Ontario: Broadview Press, Ltd., 2000), 249. Subsequent citations are from this edition and are noted by page numbers in the text.
[45] Haywood's italics.

sanctioned by the nature of their true love and by their proven power of restraint. In this case, then, these signs, even as they typically indicate transgressive action, indicate virtue achieved. Ros Ballaster has argued that amatory fiction such as *Love in Excess* reflects the 'struggle for control over the identification of amatory signs between male and female protagonists',[46] and while her claim seems persuasive, I would suggest that the problems of the amatory signs in this scene reflect a broader or, at least, *different* problem, too, namely that circumstances are often more important than precepts or custom and, therefore, signs might mean different things from one case to the next, even outside of the problem of gender. As the narrator of Haywood's novel *Life's Progress through the Passions* (1748) states, 'Yet, such is the ill-judging or careless determination of the world, that without making any allowances for circumstances, it censures all indiscriminately alike'.[47]

Haywood's interest in circumstances constitutes her interest in judgment. As Vivasvan Soni puts it, '[J]udgment is how cognition comes to terms with particularity', especially in the absence of 'rules, norms, and concepts' that would lead to a determined judgment.[48] Although Haywood and her characters certainly operate in realms with existing 'rules, norms, and concepts', there are several instabilities in Haywood's texts that challenge such rules. First is the anxiety in the eighteenth century about the increasing tendency to locate authority with individuals rather than institutions, a shift that directly challenged rules and

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[46] Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, 24.
[47] Haywood, Eliza. *Life's Progress through the Passions; or, the Adventures of Natura* (London: printed by T. Gardner, and sold at his printing-office, 1748), 22.
[48] Vivasvan Soni, 'Introduction: The Crisis of Judgment', *The Eighteenth Century*, 51.3 (2010), 275.

norms.[49] Second is the increasing attention in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to induction and empiricism. Third, and perhaps most importantly, is Haywood's resistance to gender norms or, at least, her inconsistent response to gender norms.[50] Haywood's texts make it clear that, although sometimes one should follow precepts, at other times, following precepts is the wrong thing to do, especially for women, thereby demonstrating the need for reflective judgment that considers circumstance over precepts. As noted above, for example, Melliora from *Love in Excess* violates norms at the end of the novel, but the circumstances—the particularities of the situation—make her actions not only permissible but even charming.

A notable tension about precepts also can be found between *The Distress'd Orphan* (1726) and *The Double Marriage* (1726). In *The Distress'd Orphan*, the heroine Annilia is falsely imprisoned by her guardian after she resists marrying his son who is also her first cousin. When her guardian first suggests that the time for marriage has come, Annilia is alarmed because she thinks she is too young to

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[49] See Benjamin McMyler, *Testimony, Trust, and Authority* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6; Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957; repr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 12-15; Eve Tavor, *Scepticism*, 232-42; William Donoghue, *Enlightenment Fiction*, 1; Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 78; Kathryn R. King, "Spying Upon the Conjurer: Haywood, Curiosity, and 'The Novel' in the 1720s," *Studies in the Novel*, 30 (1998): 178-79; Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Douglas Casson, *Liberating Judgment*.

[50] For discussion of Haywood's liberal portrayal of female sexuality, see Catherine A. Craft, 'Reworking Male Models: Aphra Behn's *Fair Vow-Breaker*, Eliza Haywood's *Fantomina*, and Charlotte Lennox's *Female Quixote*', *Modern Language Review* 86 (1991): 830; Mary Anne Schofield, *Quiet Rebellion: The Fictional Heroines of Eliza Fowler Haywood* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982); Margaret Case Croskery, 'Masquing Desire: The Politics of Passion in Eliza Haywood's Fantomina', in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood: Essays on Her Life and Work*, ed. Kirsten T. Saxton and Rebecca P. Bocchicchio (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 69-94.

marry. Nevertheless, she says, '[O]f this I am very certain, that to whatever you think for my good, I shall submit with readiness, having learnt thus much from my Studies, that I shall never be able to know so well what is best for me, as those do, from whom I received that Knowledge which I have'.[51] In short, she pledges to follow his guidance and authority. However, when he proposes that she marry his son, she questions the match on the grounds of their close kinship. He responds that no law prevents the marriage, and he says that he hopes 'the Precepts which I have always endeavour'd to instill in your Mind, are such as will give you no ground to think I would persuade you to an Act either unwarrantable or disadvantageous'.[52] At first, she agrees to consider his proposition 'in obedience to [his] Desires', but as he begins to strip her of 'liberty' by refusing to let her manage her own correspondence, she resolves to no longer 'consult him in any Affair'.[53] Even before he eventually forces her into an insane asylum, she reaches the conclusion that her autonomy is being threatened unjustly, and she abandons obedience and precepts of his authority. It becomes clear to her that her own judgment is better than her guardian's or even the rule of law that gives him authority over her. In the end, she escapes the asylum with the help of her true love, and they publically expose her guardian's villainy.

In contrast, in *The Double Marriage*, Bellcour's disobedience of his father results in the double suicide of himself and his abandoned wife. Although his father's name is Maraphill, which suggests that he is bad at (or for) love, *and* he coerces Bellcour into denying his love for Alathia so that he can marry the woman

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[51] Eliza Haywood, *The Distress'd Orphan*, in *Three Novellas: 'The Distress'd Orphan', 'The City Jilt', and 'The Double Marriage'*, ed. Earla A. Wilputte (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995; first published 1985), 30
[52] Ibid., 31.
[53] Ibid., 41.

Maraphill has chosen for him, it just so happens that, in this case, the father turns out to be right.[54] When Bellcour first sees Mirtamene, the woman his father has chosen for him, he falls immediately in love with her. The problem, however, is that he already has secretly married his first love, Alathia, who, despite her father's objections, continued to see Bellcour even after Maraphill had forbidden Bellcour to see her. Nevertheless, because of Bellcour's new love for Mirtamene—love that comes with his father's blessing—he marries Mirtamene. When Alathia hears of his marriage, she disguises herself as a man to find out the truth. When she learns that Bellcour has married for a second time, she confronts him and then kills herself in front of him with the Sword she has worn as part of her disguise. In his own shame and grief, Bellcour then takes up the sword and impales himself. In this novel, both Bellcour and Alathia violate their parents' wishes, and they both suffer as a result. Juxtaposing *The Distress'd Orphan* and *The Double Marriage* raises the question, What makes Bellcour and Alathia's disobedience punishable when Annilia's is not? Certainly, there are distinguishing details, but the very fact that the two cases are different is the circumstance most important to my argument. By publishing these two texts within the same year, Haywood puts them in dialogue, foregrounding the problem of judgment that must rely on case-by-case distinctions. If sometimes (or, if at any time) precepts fail and obedience to them is not required, those precepts become permanently suspect and the traditional locations of authority are undermined. This ultimately leaves everyone to be his (or, significantly, her) own judge. However, even though Haywood recognizes and foregrounds this reality,

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[54] Eliza Haywood, *The Double Marriage; or, The Fatal Release, in Three Novellas: 'The Distress'd Orphan', 'The City Jilt', 'The Double Marriage'*, ed. Earla A. Wilputte (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995; first published in 1985), 105-41.

she clearly does not rest easy with it as is made clear by her focus on the difficulties of effectively employing such authority.

Haywood's casuistry can also been seen in later courtship texts like *The History of Betsy Thoughtless* (1751). Although the novel has been interpreted by some as instructive in precepts of virtue, others have pointed out its subversion.[55] Jane Spencer, for example, points out that Betsy must abandon conventional precepts about a wife's duties, precepts that have been reinforced by Lady Trusty on Betsy's wedding day as she instructs Betsy to, as Spencer says, 'give [her husband] his rights, and always yield to him in disputes'.[56] But as Spencer notes, after Betsy's marriage, she begins to realize that Lady Trusty's advice 'cannot be followed with any dignity'.[57] As the narrator of the novel puts it, 'How utterly impossible was it for her now to observe the rules laid down to her by Lady Trusty!'[58] In this case, circumstances demand that Betsy violate the rules that establish her husband's authority, and thus Betsy must make reflective judgments, which, consequently, invite and, more importantly, require her to think and act autonomously. In later texts, like *Betsy Thoughtless* (1751) and, especially, *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* (1753), Haywood begins to investigate possible standards of judgment that might help overcome scepticism and serve as guidance for characters and readers. However, her early amatory fiction is important in the story of her scepticism because many of its conventions—such as controlling

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[55] See Shea Stuart, 'Subversive Didacticism in Eliza Haywood's *Betsy Thoughtless*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 42.3 (2002): 559-575.
[56] Jane Spencer, *Rise of the Women Novelist*, 151. See also Eliza Haywood, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*, ed. Beth Fowkes Tobin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 437.
[57] Ibid., 151.
[58] Haywood qtd. in Spencer, *Rise of the Woman Novelist*, 151; for the original texts, see Haywood, *Betsy Thoughtless*, 448.

authority figures, disobedient children, empirical failures, and rampant deception—foreground eighteenth-century pressures on judgment and autonomy, and represent the tensions that constitute Haywood's scepticism.

Establishing Authority

The location of authority is significant when one uses pre-determined precepts because those precepts must be legitimate ones. However, authority becomes more complicated and contested in the face of reflective judgment that considers circumstance on a case-by-case basis. These ideas of complicated and contested authority are in keeping with the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century challenges to traditional sources of authority. Scholars have examined the increasing authority assigned to women writers (or perceived to be allowed to women writers), especially those writers who positioned themselves as writing about feminine topics and who adopted a position of feminine authority.[59] This emerging sense of authority has been attributed not only to the increasing number of women's voices, but also to an increasing location of authority with individuals as opposed to the traditional sources of authority. As Ros Ballaster notes, between 1649-1714, there was 'a profound crisis about the nature of authority and the

[59] See for example Spencer, *Rise of the Woman Novelist*; Prescott and Spencer, 'Prattling', 43-57; Susan Sniader Lanser, *Fictions of Authority: Women Writers and Narrative Voice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 28-58; Juliette Merritt, *Beyond Spectacle*. Susan Staves, *A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain, 1660-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Kathryn Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of Femininity in the Early Periodical* (London: Routledge, 1989).

means of its legitimation', which led to 'a larger cultural movement towards locating moral value, law and order in the individual'.[60]

Spencer and Ballaster, for example, were early scholars of Aphra Behn's authority and the challenges she asserted to those who doubted or dismissed her authority, along with how Behn's various narrative forms established authority for her narrators and herself as author, both of whom Ballaster suggests are closely aligned.[61] Behn aligns author and narrator, establishing authority by claims of 'being there', even as she experiments with narrative omniscience and narrative intrusion in works such as *Love-Letters from a Nobleman to His Sister* (1684-1687).[62] Delarivier Manley uses the feminine authority of amatory fiction as a method of extending her authority into the realm of politics. However, Manley's establishment of authority is different from Haywood's because Manley does not complicate her authority through her narrative strategies. Ballaster notes that in Manley's *New Atalantis*, 'Interpretation or judgment' is left to the reader, but Ballaster also admits that Manley's text is 'ideologically over-determined and politically partisan', so while the reader might face challenges of aligning the scandal fiction with the political reality, the reader does not struggle to interpret the narrator or author's meaning. Although Manley and Behn's narratives are not simplistic, their political loyalties are clear. In contrast, Haywood not only transgresses feminine norms (as Behn and Manley do), but she also complicates her texts more thoroughly by shifting authority to the readers.

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[60] Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, 78.
[61] Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, 69. For discussion of Behn's interest in her authority and respect as an author, see Jane Spencer, *Aphra Behn's Afterlife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; repr. 2004), 25.
[62] Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, 93.

While I recognize that Eliza Haywood sought authority for herself as an author, I assert that she developed a complicated relationship between author, narrator, and reader that has not received sufficient attention. Specifically, I argue that Haywood creates a 'novel authority' by developing increased tension between author and narrator and, consequently, between the reader and *both* the narrator and author. Haywood achieves this tension by creating narrators of questionable reliability that invite judgments from readers—judgments that can be difficult to make. As a result, readers are presented with a complicated interpretive challenge. This interpretive challenge has the effect of shifting authority from the narrator (and even the author) to the reader, a move that contributes to the development of fictionality of the novel as well as the development of the eighteenth-century novel reader and political subject.

Authority, however, whether it is seen as a right, a privilege, or a prize, can also be a burden, and the nature of this burden has been overlooked in Haywood studies and in studies of eighteenth-century fictionality, in general. Although scholars have noted Haywood's invitation to readers to make judgments and reach for interpretations,[63] they have not thoroughly considered the degree to which Haywood's texts demonstrate concern and even anxiety about the nature of authority and the correlated problems of autonomy and judgment. In short, authority is not merely a position to be attained; rather, it is a responsibility that

[63] See, for example Wilputte, 'Textual Architecture'; Suzan Last, '"The Cabal were at a loss for the Author's Meaning": Eliza Haywood's *Adventures of Eovaai* as Metasatire', *Eighteenth-Century Women: Studies in their Lives, Work, and Culture* 3 (2003): 25-46; Rebecca Bullard, *The Politics of Disclosure, 1674-1725* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009); Kathryn R. King, 'Patriot or Opportunist? Eliza Haywood and the Problems of *The Female Spectator*, in Wright and Newman, *Fair Philosopher*, 104-21; Anthony Pollock, *Gender and Fictions of the Public Sphere, 1690-1755* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

comes with subsequent burdens. Many of Haywood's plots demonstrate this anxiety about authority, and they frequently employ narrative strategies that perform these anxieties by shifting them onto the reader. It is not until Haywood's later texts, especially *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, that she explores tentative solutions to her anxiety and extreme scepticism. When these answers do arrive, they come, rather surprisingly, in the form of the imagination, which allows Haywood's characters to exercise an 'enlarged mentality' by which they put themselves in the standpoints of others, thereby increasing their impartiality and the possibility of a reliable standard of judgment. These strategies are noteworthy because they challenge both the experience-based judgment of Locke and the self-reliant rationalism of Descartes. In addition, I argue that while these strategies are sociable, they do not negate autonomy but rather improve its effectiveness.

In this thesis, I do not presume to resolve all of the tensions in Haywood's large, complicated oeuvre. Rather, I seek to study those tensions in several key texts as they reflect a crisis of judgment for the characters. These tensions also create a crisis of judgment for readers who find that such texts resist interpretation, especially an interpretation based on predetermined concepts or ideas about Haywood. In other words, readers cannot rely on established generalizations to determine the meaning of Haywood's texts; they are not able to know ahead of time what kind of politics or moral values they will find. Readers cannot approach a Haywood text with the certainty that it will be either conservative or progressive, that it will privilege one position over another. Thus readers are put into the same situations as the characters who must focus on particular circumstances rather than any finalizable hermeneutic that can be extended from one situation (or text) to another. Vivasvan Soni says about Austen

that '[a]ttention to the problems of judgment allows us to understand better Austen's unique place in the history of the novel'.[64] I argue that the same can be said for Haywood.

A Note on Attribution

Attribution is a general problem in the eighteenth century, but attribution is particularly difficult in the case of Eliza Haywood, not only because she wrote so many works that did not have her name on the title pages, but also because her biography is so uncertain. Leah Orr has argued that we cannot safely attribute *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* and *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* to Eliza Haywood. She bases her argument on the lack of external evidence that goes beyond internal stylistic evidence. Of the texts I study in this thesis, she is particularly doubtful that Eliza Haywood wrote *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, pointing out that there is little evidence that Haywood wrote it other that George Frisbie Whicher's speculation that it matches Haywood's style.[65] Regarding *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, Orr notes that the only evidence of authorship comes from Haywood's obituary, and, therefore, she deems the attribution merely 'possible'.[66] Orr raises good questions, and her caution is not unwarranted. She argues that Patrick Spedding, in his bibliography often rests his claims on speculation or unreliable stylistic assessments rather than external evidence. Although I agree that Spedding is sometimes speculative (this is true regarding some of the later Duncan Campbell texts, for example), I think that at this point a

[64] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 379.
[65] Leah Orr, 'The Basis for Attribution in the Canon of Eliza Haywood', *The Library* 12.4 (2011): 354.
[66] Ibid., 348.

stronger argument and, perhaps a proposed alternative attribution, needs to be made if we are to de-attribute these texts. I find this is especially true for *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* since external evidence does exist. Therefore, in this thesis, I accept the common attributions that Haywood wrote both *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* and *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*.[67]

Chapter Descriptions

In chapter one of this thesis, I argue that *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, Haywood's 1724 text about the deaf-mute fortune-teller, Duncan Campbell, is not the mere propaganda piece it has been suggested to be. Instead, I suggest that it is a sceptical text told from the perspective of an unreliable, credulous narrator. The narrator's unreliability raises suspicion and doubt in the reader's mind about both the narrator's credibility and her subject, Duncan Campbell. These doubts draw attention to the narrator's failure to employ the method of doubt that she pretends to practise. In addition, I show how this text is in conversation with texts by William Bond and other early eighteenth-century male writers who address problems of scepticism and credulity. With *Spy*, Haywood participates in a dialogue dominated by men while also expanding and complicating the conversation as she addresses epistemological concerns for women. I conclude that the narrative approach to *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* contributes to the development of eighteenth-century fiction and that, in this text, Haywood's scepticism is extreme and unresolved.

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[67] Orr says that attribution for *The Female Spectator* attribution is 'probable' (although she questions single authorship) and that attribution for *The Adventures of Eovaai* is 'confident' (ibid., Appendix I).

Chapter two demonstrates how Haywood's scepticism informs the politics in *The Adventures of Eovaai* (1736) and how that scepticism is connected to scholarly traditions of historical discourse and its inherent and troublesome reliance on testimony. Scholars have offered widely different readings of Haywood's political partisanship in *Eovaai*, and I suggest it is Haywood's scepticism that undermines our ability to reach a finalized conclusion about such alliances. Therefore, instead of drawing a conclusion about her political alliance, I argue instead that *Eovaai* demonstrates the difficulties of liberal political theory and the instability of the social contract. However, I also assert that, unlike traditional political sceptics, Haywood does not advocate wilful subjection to an absolute sovereign and that this move distinguishes her from the masculine tradition of scepticism. In fact, I argue that, in *Eovaai*, Haywood does not really offer a solution to the instabilities she highlights. Rather, she remains in an uneasy sceptical posture that serves to make visible the crisis of judgment and autonomy that is inevitable in a liberal government. At the same time, in this polyphonic novel, through her focus on autonomy, Haywood again shifts interpretive authority to her readers, putting the reader in the same difficult position as Eovaai.

In chapter three, I continue my focus on the location of authority, demonstrating how it manifests in Haywood's periodical, *The Female Spectator* (1744-46). Like other scholars, I point to the conventions that Haywood uses to establish the authority of her eidolon, but I then complicate these readings of her authority by analysing how Haywood, once she has established that authority, proceeds to deconstruct it in order to shift it onto the reader. This deconstruction occurs as she includes several travel narratives, which were common flashpoints for debates about truth and fiction, scepticism and credulity, and which were

narratives traditionally dominated and directed by men. In this periodical Haywood does, however, begin to demonstrate possible solutions to her scepticism through an 'enlarged mentality' that is developed as the Female Spectator speculates about her readers and also invites them to speculate about her, thereby fostering her role as an 'experimental image' for the readers' enlarged mentality. In *The Female Spectator*, Haywood shifts authority to her readers as she provides a pedagogy that trains them to exercise that authority effectively.

In my final chapter, I look at how Haywood, in *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* (1753), deviates from the methods of her previous works in ways that mitigate her earlier philosophical scepticism. This novel, which shares the themes of her early amatory fiction, differs from that fiction in that her main character, Jenny Jessamy, has nearly perfect judgment. With this unusual character who so effectively exercises her autonomy and authority, Haywood models a solution to the extreme scepticism of her earlier work. This solution comes specifically through Jenny's ability to practise what Kant would later call an 'enlarged mentality', what Hannah Arendt called 'going visiting', and what current cognitive theorists refer to as 'theory of mind'.[68] In this novel, Haywood suggests that effective autonomous judgment might be reached through sociable intersubjectivity that can offer a better standard of judgment than Lockean sensory experience or even Cartesian self-reliant rationalism. Haywood's solutions do rely, in part, on self-directed empirical investigations, but in this novel, those investigations have more in common with the language of criminal investigations and the legal system than with natural philosophy. Although this novel loses some

[68] Although these three different concepts have nuanced points of difference, I am focused on what they have in common—the use of the imagination to 'visit' the mental standpoint of someone else.

of the exciting instability of Haywood's earlier work, it provides a unique pedagogy of judgment based on an increased sense of intersubjectivity, a move that not only mediates earlier problems of judgment but also privileges imagination and prefigures the work of later writers.

CHAPTER ONE:

DOUBT AND DUNCAN CAMPBELL IN A *SPY UPON THE CONJURER*

In 1724, Eliza Haywood published *A Spy Upon the Conjurer: A Collection of Surprising Stories, with Names, Places, and particular Circumstances relating to Mr. Duncan Campbell, commonly known by the Name of the Deaf and Dumb Man; and the astonishing Penetration and Event of his Predictions*.[1] The text features Duncan Campbell, the famous, real-life 'deaf and dumb' fortune-teller, who lived and worked in London in the early eighteenth century.[2] The narrator, called Justicia, says that she wants to convince her reader (an unnamed lord to whom the text is dedicated) that Campbell is legitimate—that he is not a fraud. Few scholars have studied this text, and those who have, have interpreted *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* as a hack propaganda piece meant to support Campbell's business and reputation, suggesting that Haywood, herself, believed in him as a fortune-teller who had 'second sight'.[3] As one critic puts it, 'Haywood's attitude [towards Campbell] is

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[1] Eliza Haywood. *A Spy Upon the Conjurer: A Collection of Surprising Stories, with Names, Places, and particular Circumstances relating to Mr. Duncan Campbell, commonly known by the Name of the Deaf and Dumb Man; and the astonishing Penetration and Event of his Predictions*. (London: Sold by Mr. Campbell at the Green-Hatch in Buckingham-Court, Whitehall; and at Burton's Coffee-House, Charing-Cross, 1724).

[2] Campbell's fortune-telling is mentioned in 1709 by Richard Steele in *The Tatler* (No. 14) and in 1714 by Joseph Addison in *The Spectator* (No. 560). These texts, combined with Haywood's text, suggest he practised as early as 1709 and as late as the early 1720s.

[3] See Felicity Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 51; Felicity A. Nussbaum, 'Speechless: Haywood's Deaf and Dumb Projector', in *The Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood*, ed. Kirsten T. Saxton and Rebecca P. Bocchicchio (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 194-216; and King, 'Spying', 178-93.

largely one of respect, admiration, and celebration'.[4] This conclusion suggests that the text offers a single, straightforward, finalized interpretation of Haywood's purpose. In contrast, I argue that while it is clear that the *narrator* admires Campbell, there are numerous rhetorical and structural elements that suggest a distance between Haywood (the author) and Justicia (the narrator)—a distance that suggests tension between Justicia's claims about Campbell and what the reader should, in the end, believe about him. Ultimately, this tension, combined with repeated examples in the narrative of failed sensory perception, privileges doubt as the proper method of inquiry for the narrator and for the readers. Not only does the text privilege a position of doubt, but it demonstrates an extreme scepticism about knowledge that puts the text in conversation with other writers—mostly male—who are part of the sceptical tradition.

Many eighteenth-century texts were more than (or different from) what they seemed to be on the surface, and *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* is such a text. The stated purpose of Justicia, the narrator, is to entertain the unnamed lord while also proving Campbell's legitimacy. Within the framework of this stated purpose, the text is essentially episodic—the first three quarters are Justicia's observations of Campbell's interactions with his various clients, and the last quarter is a collection of letters addressed to Campbell from his clients. Those who seek Campbell's help usually want to find out whom they will (or should) marry, and in this way, the text shares the themes of love, courtship, and betrayal that dominate Haywood's amatory fiction. These themes also add a sense of urgency to the text's epistemological questions because the questions are not mere thought experiments; rather, they are problems of knowing that impact marriage, money,

[4] Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 51.

and, in some cases, life and death. By bringing these amatory themes into the realm of the epistemological debates dominated by natural philosophers, Haywood expands the debates to include questions that directly affect the lives of women. This epistemological tension and scepticism, along with her narrative structure, subverts the more authoritative writings of natural philosophers (even as it engages with them) and creates a gendered, novelistic aesthetic that requires evaluation and interpretation from its readers.

In the first part of this chapter, I demonstrate the narrator's failures in judgment, showing how these failures invite and require doubt from the reader about the narrator's capacity to judge well. In addition, I demonstrate how Haywood's text foregrounds failures of sensory perception, thereby enlarging the foundation on which her scepticism rests. These failures of sensory perception are exemplified throughout the text, and Duncan Campbell, as a deaf and dumb fortune-teller serves as a foil to those who rely on their senses. Finally, I show how *A Spy Upon the Conjurer's* subject matter (Campbell), its scepticism, and its generic conventions connect it to texts published by male authors such as William Bond and members of the Royal Society, thereby demonstrating that Haywood's text is not merely propaganda or even a scandal narrative, but rather it is also a response and challenge to the biographies and apparition narratives of the early eighteenth century. Whereas these biographies and apparition narratives privilege credulity and trust in an authoritative narrator, Haywood challenges such credulity and narrative authority by creating an unreliable first-person narrator who invites scepticism and doubt from the reader and challenges accepted standards of

knowledge.[5] This invitation shifts authority to the reader, and the fictional first-person narrator represents a significant move in the development of eighteenth-century fiction.

Justicia and Doubt

Justicia, the narrator of *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, is a case study of someone who fails to doubt and who too quickly assents to belief without sufficient certainty. Although she claims to practise a method of doubt, she fails to do so. She believes in Campbell and his talents (or at least claims to), and she works to persuade many others—including her intended reader, the unnamed lord—to believe in him as well. To do so, she reports various incidents in which visitors seek Campbell's advice based on his 'second sight,' showing how his predictions invariably come true. However, despite the fact that she says she wants to lead her reader to a state of belief, throughout the text she continually discusses the problems that arise when people are not sufficiently sceptical, and she mocks others for their credulity.[6] There is some irony, then, that Justicia, herself, is not more sceptical. At one point, she is even chastised by Duncan Campbell for the poor judgment that runs in her family when he says they all are easily duped by flattery (130). His criticism of Justicia's judgment and her lack of scepticism compound the reader's uncertainty. If readers are to believe Justicia when she says that Campbell has great 'penetration' of others, then readers should trust Campbell when he says that Justicia's judgment is flawed, which then suggests that maybe

[5] Steven Shapin says that 'early Royal Society members were marginally more worried by illegitimate skepticism than by illegitimate credulity'. Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 244.
[6] For an example, see Haywood, *Spy*, 3.

readers should not trust her judgment after all (including, perhaps, her judgment about Campbell), which therefore suggests that maybe Campbell should not be believed when he says that Justicia does not always reason well. In this circular consideration of credibility and credulity, the reliability of narrators becomes like a snake swallowing its own tail (or 'tale,' as the case may be), and although it is unclear who can be believed, challenges about belief and judgment are unquestionably in play. If the first-person narrator is unreliable, one must consider the possible irony and satire at work in the text and the likelihood that Haywood's *authorial* purpose (and attitude towards Campbell) should not be equated with Justicia's *narrative* one.

At another point, Justicia attempts to assure her reader (the anonymous lord) that he can trust her judgment. This assurance is complicated, however, by the fact that he, in the past, has accused her of bias, and it is also complicated by the earlier claims made by Justicia, herself, acknowledging that she does not always trust her own judgment and that, in general, women lack good judgment because they do not have access to the same education as men. Nevertheless, Justicia says,

> I hope your Lordship will not believe me guilty of the least Partiallity or Bigottry, (as you once told me) since I faithfully assure you, I neither have, nor will, in the Course of these Memoirs, avouch any thing without consulting my Judgment, and first answering within my self, all the Objections that can possibly be made against it. (41)

The last sentence of this passage suggests that Justicia is claiming a commitment to the kind of Cartesian, methodical doubt that requires one to suspend judgment until doubts have been replaced by certainty. By making this statement, she

demonstrates a keen awareness of the value of such doubt when trying to ascertain and report truth. Her claim is particularly interesting when, just a few lines later (on the very same page), she challenges one of Campbell's customers who expresses doubt about a prediction that Campbell has written down for her: 'Why, Madam, said I, as soon as I had read [the prediction], should you question the Truth of what is here set down?' (42). With this challenge, Justicia suggests that the customer's doubt about Campbell's prediction is unreasonable. Justicia's question seems like a strange one to ask of a woman who is approaching fortune-telling with what might be considered reasonable scepticism, especially after Justicia has previously acknowledged the necessity for thoroughly doubting such claims and pursuing 'all the objections' that could be made against those claims. In fact, Justicia, too, once believed Campbell to be an imposter and 'was ridiculing every Body who seem'd to speak favourably of him' (3). As a convert, however, she now expects others to believe that his gifts are real, based merely on the evidence of a prediction that is written on a piece of paper, and it is the people who doubt his words whom she finds to be 'blinded', suggesting it is they, rather than Campbell, who have flawed or limited sensory perception. Justicia's expectations suggest that she operates from a place of bias and that, as such, her analysis of evidence cannot fully be trusted. Indeed, in the above passage, she admits that her audience, the unnamed lord, has in the past accused her of 'Partiallity or Bigotry', a trait that still seems to be firmly in place. Justicia, then, is somewhat hypocritical. She claims to engage in sufficient doubt before assenting to a belief, yet the evidence of her narrative suggests otherwise.

In his *Discourse on Method* (1631) and *Meditations on First Philosophy* (1641), to address problems of judgment and error, Rene Descartes employs

'methodical doubt' to undermine every belief that he ever has held to be true.[7] He does this because he realizes that in the past he has made errors in judgment, and if he has believed some things to be true that have turned out to be false, then what other beliefs might he hold true that also will turn out to be false? Granted, Descartes's ultimate goal was to overcome the problems of scepticism, but, to do so, he first extended scepticism to its most extreme conclusion, what was called the *crise pyrrhonise*: the belief that we can know nothing at all about anything.[8] About the senses, Descartes says in *Meditations on First Philosophy*, 'Surely, whatever I had admitted until now as most true I received either from the senses or through the senses. However, I have noticed that the senses are sometimes deceptive; and it is a mark of prudence never to place our complete trust in those who have deceived us even once'.[9] In order to ensure that he only believes those things about which he is certain, he employs the 'dream argument' and the 'Evil Genius' argument (also called the 'Evil Demon' argument) to pull the epistemological foundation out from under all of his sensory perceptions, suggesting that we cannot trust our sensory perceptions because *a)* we cannot know we are awake when we are awake and, therefore, our perceptions might be merely the stuff of dreams and *b)* there could exist an Evil Genius deceiving us into believing things are real that are not. Ultimately, Descartes invokes the Evil Genius argument to develop his method of doubt, saying, 'I will remain resolute and steadfast in this meditation, and even if it is not within my power to know anything

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[7] Rene Descartes, *Discourse on Method and Meditations on First Philosophy*, trans. Donald A. Cross. 4th ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1998). All subsequent quotations from Descartes are from *Meditations on First Philosophy* in this edition and will be referenced as *Discourse and Meditations*.
[8] Popkin, *History of Scepticism*, 143-57.
[9] Descartes, *Discourse and Meditations*, 60.

true, it certainly is within my power to take care resolutely to withhold my assent to what is false, lest this deceiver, however powerful, however clever he may be, have any effect on me'.[10]

Ultimately, although Descartes eventually must overcome the Evil Genius argument if he is ever to believe anything again, he holds on to his commitment to doubting what he perceives and to withholding 'assent' to an idea before he has done his best to determine whether the idea is true or false. In this way, Descartes makes a clear distinction between *perception* (the ideas we have about what seems to be true) and the will, or *volition* (our act of affirming or denying the truth of those ideas). With such affirmation or denial, one moves beyond perception into the realm of judgment. Error occurs, Descartes says, when we affirm or deny the truth of something before ensuring that we have the necessary and sufficient understanding to affirm or deny that truth:

> What then is the source of my errors? They are owing simply to the fact that, since the will extends further than the intellect, I do not contain the will within the same boundaries; rather, I also extend it to things I do not understand. Because the will is indifferent in regard to such matters, it easily turns away from the true and the good; and in that way I am deceived and I sin.[11]

In short, Descartes says the source of error is that we make decisions about what is true and what is false (and, perhaps, act on those decisions) when we do not have sufficient information and understanding to do so, and thus we are deceived.

[10] Ibid., 62-63.
[11] Ibid., 84.

Because this source of error rests on misuse of the will, the blame, then, is wholly ours. As Christopher Gilbert explains of Descartes's methodological scepticism,

> The proper thing to do when certain knowledge is lacking is to refrain from judging and choosing; this is how error is avoided. Whenever we judge or choose in the absence of certain knowledge, we err; either we make the wrong judgment or choice, or we make the right judgment or choice by accident. Intellectual and moral errors, then arise from a misuse of the active power of volition that God has given us. But such errors are our fault, not God's; God does no wrong in giving us a power that we, in turn, freely misuse. Thus, our indifference with regard to unclear ideas both enables us to err and makes us responsible for our errors.[12]

Like Descartes, Haywood suggests that we are, to a great degree, responsible for our errors, even in the face of deception, and that many of our errors do, indeed, stem from 'judging or choosing in the absence of certain knowledge'.[13] Increasing the epistemic pressure even further, Haywood creates what one might call a 'double bind' for her characters as they pursue knowledge. Despite the fact that Haywood shows the difficulty—if not the near impossibility—of gaining true, certain knowledge, she, like Descartes, also suggests that everyone must still carry this burden of knowing, and that, when one fails to know, even when one is intentionally deceived by others, the fault is usually one's own. In fact, in *A Spy*

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[12] Christopher Gilbert, 'Descartes, Passion, and the Ability to Do Otherwise', *Journal of Philosophical Research* 38 (2013): 287.

[13] Throughout Haywood's fiction, 'victims' are blamed for their own misfortunes, just as Campbell writes to Justicia, 'That Man was born to deceive and ruin your Sex. - - - But if you will believe, and be undone, who but your selves can you blame?' (*Spy*, 75).

Upon the Conjurer, as in other Haywood texts, characters that are deceived or 'duped' are often mocked by other characters or the narrator for being wilfully naive and deserving of their fates; Haywood makes the point that individuals must attempt to avoid being victims of deception if they are to protect themselves and avoid ruin. With this interpretation, I echo Helene Koon's claim that Haywood is, at heart, a pragmatist and that her texts are, essentially, guides for survival, but I build on her argument by showing that this survival is contingent upon the epistemological problems that Haywood's characters face and who has epistemic power over whom.[14] By highlighting these conflicting realities—both the *problem* of knowing and the *responsibility* of knowing—Haywood foregrounds common epistemological concerns of the early eighteenth century, such as those related to religion and government, and she demonstrates the empirical crisis of the modern individual.

Through Justicia's hypocrisy, Eliza Haywood portrays one of the key ways in which access to truth can be impeded: one can be biased or 'partial' and therefore move all too readily from perception to volition—a willed assent to the truth about that which is perceived. Descartes and the natural philosophers (and, later, philosophers like Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant) were commonly concerned with impartiality and 'detachment', postures that were 'necessary for pursuing and acquiring knowledge'.[15] Justicia seems to imply her own detachment by identifying herself as a 'spy' who can fairly evaluate her own conclusions, but in reality she has not shed the partiality of which she has been accused in the past.

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[14] Helen Koon, 'Eliza Haywood and *The Female Spectator*', *Huntington Quarterly* 42.1 (1978): 43-55.

[15] Gevirtz, *Women, Novels, and Natural Philosophy*, 24. For more on impartiality, see D. D. Raphael, *The Impartial Spectator: Adam Smith's Moral Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007); Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments*, esp. 45-54.

Haywood raises further questions of 'knowing' and partiality in Justicia's reasoning when Justicia writes the following to her friend, the lord:

> I do not think any thing can be more provoking, than to hear People deny a known Truth, only because they cannot comprehend. Some fancy themselves very wise, in affecting to ridicule all Kinds of Fortune-telling, and tho' they do happen (which I confess is a Wonder) to meet with one really skilful in the Art, yet because they cannot imagine by what Means he came to be so, are willing to run him down as the most ignorant of the Pretenders.—*How should he know*—and—*how is it possible he can tell us?* are Words commonly us'd, even by those who are convinc'd by Experience that he can. (44)[16]

In this passage, Justicia expresses exasperation with those who 'deny a known Truth, only because they cannot comprehend' that truth, and she echoes anti-sceptical writers of the apparition narratives (whom I will discuss below) that criticize the incredulous 'freethinkers'. However, because of Justicia's demonstrated failings, these echoes do not serve her cause but rather highlight her hypocrisy. And by highlighting Justicia's hypocrisy, Haywood privileges the sceptical position over Justicia's credulous one.

It is also worth taking a moment to consider what Justicia means by such words as 'known Truth' and 'comprehend'. In her reference to the 'known Truth', she seems to be taking some assumptions for granted. At the close of the passage, she says that these people are questioning the truth and the methods for obtaining that truth. They ask *How should he know*? even though their 'experience' (e.g.,

[16] Haywood's italics.

hearing of his success, seeing his predictions come true) convinces them that he does, indeed, have knowledge of the future. However, Justicia's statement takes for granted that we should trust isolated experiences completely, without consideration of context or competing knowledge, and that such experiences serve as concrete evidence of truth, regardless of the functions of our reasoning and regardless of the probability of truth. It denies pre-existing doubts about Campbell's legitimacy and ignores scepticism that might be based on his deafness: their question implies 'how should he—*of all people*—know?'. This trust in isolated experiences is problematic for two main reasons. First, it presumes that our experiences are reliable, which rests on the expectation that our sensory perception is reliable, but throughout *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, Haywood, through Justicia, offers multiple examples that contradict this assumption (as I also will discuss below). Second, as Descartes suggests, when we move towards belief, there are two components: perception and volition.[17] Justicia is suggesting, in this passage, that even if our understanding is incomplete, and even if doubt is still in place, we should, nevertheless, *will* ourselves to a state of belief. Such a practice not only goes against the commitment to doubt that Justicia has claimed to practise, but it also goes against even the most permissive and pragmatic principles related to assent and the suspension of judgment. Descartes recognized that individuals cannot live all of their lives by practicing complete methodological doubt, and he recognized that individuals often are faced with choices about which they have no 'clear and distinct ideas'.[18] And he admits that, in those cases, we must take a position and commit to that position as long as we have no clear

[17] See Descartes, *Discourse and Meditations*, 84-87.
[18] Ibid., 81-92.

reason to reject it. But, in this case, as Justicia so accurately points out, Campbell's visitors have many reasons to doubt what they cannot understand. The newspapers during the 1720s often included stories about duplicitous individuals arrested for fraudulent fortune-telling, and Justicia, herself, even offers accounts of such frauds.[19] For example, she tells the tale of a man who goes from one money-grubbing fortune-teller to another 'till his Money was all gone', and she also discusses fortune-tellers who 'deceive the ignorant Wretches that confide in them' (25, 126).[20]

In her condemnation of Campbell's sceptics, then, she fails to acknowledge that his uncanny predictions are only isolated experiences and that his customers' likely awareness of corrupt fortune-tellers would make their scepticism perfectly reasonable. In the case of Campbell, the demonstrated evidence and the probability of truth are in clear conflict—conflict that Justicia wilfully ignores as she condemns the reasonable scepticism held by others. Therefore, when Justicia accuses these sceptics of having unjustified doubt, she is ignoring the fact that, in the world of fortune-telling, rampant deception begs for a position of doubt—a position to which Justicia, herself, has professed a commitment. Her failure to

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[19] See, for example, *The Flying Post or The Post Master*, London: 28 February 1716, issue 3769, for an account of an imposter deaf and dumb fortune-teller who was 'put in the House of Corrections at Nantwich, and can both speak and hear'; see also *The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, London, 27 June 1724, issue 2903: 'One Susana Howard of Windmill-Hill, a pretended Fortune-Teller was last Monday Night committed to Bridewell, by Colonel Mitchel, for defrauding a young married Woman of 10 s'.

[20] Haywood also has other texts that caution readers against fortune-tellers. In *Present for a Servant Maid* (1743), for example, she warns servants to avoid the 'wicked Designs' of these 'Pretenders to Divination', and in *The Invisible Spy* (1755), the narrator gives an account of a woman taken in by a fortune-teller, and at length he criticizes these 'impostors' and the 'credulous part of mankind' who visit them. Eliza Haywood, *Present for a Servant Maid*, ed. Alexander Pettit (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000), I.1.224-225; Eliza Haywood, *Invisible Spy*, 242-43.

maintain that commitment thus manifests as blatant hypocrisy, suggesting that Haywood is emphasizing the importance of the doubt that Justicia has abandoned.

To her credit, Justicia admits that her judgment has, at times, been found wanting. And part of her purpose in sending her account to the lord is to allow him to pass judgment on her reasoning. In this way, he functions as a 'modest witness'. Among the natural philosophers, the role of a modest witness was 'to validate or reject the findings of another individual self' because 'the self's discoveries did not constitute knowledge until the process could be replicated and the conclusions reached by other selves'.[21] Philosopher William Harvey, for example, demonstrates his respect for the modest witness when he writes in a preface to *On the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals* (1628), which is addressed to the president and members of the Royal College of Physicians, 'I was greatly afraid lest I might be charged with presumption . . . unless I had first proposed the subject to you, had confirmed its conclusions by ocular demonstrations in your presence, had replied to your doubts and objections, and secured the assent and support of our distinguished President'.[22] Harvey seeks support and affirmation from these 'modest witnesses'. Justicia, as a narrator who is concerned with doubt and belief, also seeks support and affirmation from her friend, the lord, but our knowledge of his scepticism and her failures suggests that she might not get the affirmation she seeks. Furthermore, this unnamed lord is not her only modest witness. Because of Haywood's narrative structure and use of the second person, the readers are modest witnesses, too. However, while judging Justicia might seem easy enough (because the reader sees clear evidence of her flaws), Haywood makes it clear that,

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[21] Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 26.
[22] Harvey qtd. in Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 26.

in general, accurate judgment is very difficult to achieve. Not only is judgment frequently marred by bias and partiality, but it is also impeded by the regular failures of sensory perception.

The Limitations of Sensory Perception

Justicia is not the only poor judge in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*. Almost invariably, Campbell's clients demonstrate poor judgment about other people. Rarely is anyone what he or she seems, and, almost to a person, none of Campbell's clients are able to discern the truth, or the reality, that exists behind or beyond appearances. Nevertheless, Justicia relies on appearances, using the language of the 'new science' to enhance her credibility and her claims to empiricism. In this way, she co-opts the language and conventions of authentication used by the sceptic—citing sensory evidence for her claims, quoting supposedly credible sources, admitting areas of uncertainty—even though her position is anti-sceptical.[23] As a *former* doubter of Campbell's powers, and as someone who once laughed at the gullibility of the people who consulted him, Justicia argues that it was empirical evidence, specifically 'ocular Demonstration', that changed her mind and convinced her of 'the Reality'. She says,

> [W]henever any of my Acquaintance told me of the surprizing Solutions which Mr. Campbell had given to the most intricate Questions propounded to him and his amazing Art of writing the Names of People at first Sight, with that of those they either had, or should be married to, I could not forbear laughing in my Sleeve, and wondering at their Folly: And I must still own, in favour of the

[23] For more on such 'conventions of authentication', see McKeon, *Origins,* 89.

> unbelieving part of the World, that there is something so mysterious in it, that nothing but ocular Demonstration, ought to convince a Person of Understanding, of the Reality. (2)

In this passage, Justicia acknowledges her previous doubt and even concedes that Campbell's powers are very mysterious. Nevertheless, she says that she grounds her new-found belief—what she takes to be knowledge of 'the reality'—in the empirical evidence of 'ocular Demonstration', a phrase, along with 'ocular proof', that although not unique to the eighteenth century (one thinks, perhaps, of *Othello*), gained increasing significance as it was used often by natural philosophers and fictions writers like Delarivier Manley.[24] Royal Society member Robert Hooke uses it, for example, in *Micrographia* (1665), a book that contains detailed drawings of images that Hooke observed through various microscopic lenses.[25] The phrase was emphasized as early as 1628 in William Harvey's *On the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals*.[26] By using this diction, Haywood also echoes William Bond who, in his own biography of Duncan Campbell, says that many witnesses possess 'Ocular Proof of [Campbell's] Predictions'.[27] It remains unclear, though, exactly what kind of 'ocular Demonstration' can prove the talents of a fortune-teller, and Justicia's use of this phrase seems merely to parrot the 'new

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[24] Delarivier Manley, *The New Atalantis*, ed. Rosalind Ballaster (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 8.
[25] See Al Coppola, 'Without the Help of Glasses', *The Eighteenth Century* 54.2 (2013): 263-77.
[26] Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 26.
[27] William Bond, The History of the *Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell, A Gentleman, who tho' Deaf and Dumb, writes down any Stranger's Name at first Sight: with their future Contingencies of Fortune.* The Second Edition corrected (London: Printed for E. Curll: And sold by W. Mears and T. Jauncy without Temple-Bar, W. Meadows in Cornhill. A. Bettesworth in Pater-Noster Row, W. Lewis in Covent-Garden, and J. Graves in St. Jame's-Street, 1720), 130. Further references are to this edition, title shortened to *Life and Adventures*.

science'. For scientists like Harvey and Hooke, 'ocular demonstration' referred to the results of experimentation as well as methods of enhanced perception using telescopic lenses, both of which were employed to create 'watchfulness over the failings and an inlargement of the dominion, of the Senses'.[28] In *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, 'ocular Demonstration' refers to unaided sense experience, something which, elsewhere in the text, Haywood suggests is an entirely unreliable method of discerning what is real.

The insufficiency of sensory perceptions, and 'ocular Demonstration' in particular, is suggested by an anecdote that, somewhat ironically, Justicia offers as solid evidence of Campbell's true abilities as a fortune-teller. Before reviewing the anecdote, itself, it is worth pausing to note how Justicia frames its purpose and import. Before relating the details of the story, Justicia says,

> I don't know what your Lordship may think of this story; but in my Judgment, nothing can be a greater Evidence of the Skill I attempt to vindicate. To me it appears so strong and undeniable an Argument, that there needs no more than to believe it to convince you there is a Power in that Man of foreseeing the most hid Events. (65)

Justicia's language is striking in several ways. First, she begins with the phrase 'I don't know', suggesting a lack of knowledge of how the lord might perceive or consider the evidence. This language highlights the fact that two people are likely to perceive the same details in different ways. Then, she qualifies the 'evidence' with the preface, 'In my Judgment,' which, as a sequel to the phrase 'I don't know',

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[28] Robert Hooke, *Micrographia: or Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies Made by Magnifying Glasses with Observations and Inquiries Thereupon* (London: Printed by Jo Martyn and Ja. Allestry, Printers to the Royal Society and are to be sold at their Shop at the Bell in S. Paul's Church-yard, 1665), preface (pages unnumbered).

suggests a compounding of uncertainty. Not only is she unsure how the lord will perceive the information, but she also seems to assume that judgment is somewhat subjective and, therefore, she cannot be sure that what serves as evidence for her will (or should) serve as evidence for him (or others). This might be especially true since, as I cited above, some passages have indicated that both Campbell and the unnamed lord tend to question the quality of Justicia's judgment. Justicia follows 'in my Judgment', with the qualifier, 'to me it appears'. Despite the fact that 'appearance' often served as evidence for natural philosophers and other empiricists, Justicia's language here (because of its qualifiers and context, and because of her questionable credibility) further adds to the sense that the judgment is subjective and relative. The word 'appears' also highlights the epistemological problem that what 'appears' to be so may actually be only appearance after all—not reality. Still, regardless of these many qualifications, Justicia concludes that the argument 'appears so strong and undeniable . . . that there needs no more than to believe it to convince you there is a Power in that Man of foreseeing the most hid Events'. With this conclusion, we see that, once again, Justicia has not fully engaged in a method of doubt. In fact, she has not even come close. Although the language suggests that the evidence is not absolute and is, in fact, highly dubitable, Justicia chooses, or *wills*, the belief in spite of that doubt, a practice that, in this Haywood text as well as in others, inevitably leads to self-deception and many practical problems. Justicia's conclusion is ultimately quite circular when she claims one need only to believe in order to be convinced. In addition, she is saying that the lord should believe it based on her testimony, something that the reader and Justicia already know that he does not trust. With such examples of Justicia's self-deception, Haywood leads readers to question

Justicia's judgment of the evidence (and therefore the evidence, itself), along with just about anything else that 'appears' to be true.

This call for scepticism becomes even more striking upon reading the anecdote itself. For Justicia, in this case, the power of the evidence presumably lies not so much in the details of the particular fortune that Campbell tells, but rather in the fact that he *does* tell it, and that his predictions do come true. Nevertheless, I would suggest that, for Haywood (as opposed to Justicia), the details of the story are, in fact, significant because they beg us to be sceptical of sensory evidence—'ocular' or otherwise. Justicia spends quite a bit of time on this story in which a young woman of 15 visits Campbell to find out 'when she shou'd get a Husband' (88). Justicia gives a lengthy, entertaining account that includes the young woman's first meeting with Campbell, along with accounts of subsequent information-gathering ('spying') that allow Justicia to be privy to the events as they unfold.

Justicia has pursued information about the young woman, from both curiosity and her intent to defend Campbell, and, in doing so, she learns that all has come to pass exactly as Campbell predicted it would. Specifically, the young woman got married, but she is suing for a separation because her husband treats her poorly and because he behaved strangely in bed on their wedding night. In response to the suit, the husband agrees to divorce his wife under one condition: that she never again associates with her previous suitor, Mr. E — d M — n. The husband then summons Mr. M — n to explain the binding agreement and to ridicule him, upon which action Mr. M — n becomes enraged and challenges the husband to a duel. At that moment, the husband reveals that he cannot fight in a duel because he is, in reality, a woman:

> The Person challeng'd presently discovered herself to be a Woman, and consequently unfit for such an Encounter as the other demanded. --- Having pluck'd off her Perriwig, all the Company knew her to be a Lady who had long been courted by Mr. E --- d M --- n; but the other's Fortune being greater, had alienated his Affections to her: On which she had dress'd herself in Mens Clothes, and contriv'd this Strategem to disappoint his hopes. (93-94)

In short, a jilted woman has retaliated against the man who rejected her by posing as a man and stealing his preferred beloved. Justicia explains that no one begrudged the Lady for her cross-dressing trick, and that all praised her for her 'ingenuity'. Even the deceived young woman was grateful to this trickster who prevented her marriage to Mr. M --- n, who was clearly a man of inconstant and selfish affections.

It certainly is striking that the deceived woman found the deception all quite understandable and forgivable, but even more striking, especially to the purpose of my argument, is the magnitude of the deception and the degree to which the lady's direct sensory impressions failed to sufficiently inform her of the real sex of her spouse and how that reality differed from appearances. Granted, one might imagine ways in which, during this time period, such a deception before marriage might be achieved, and the young woman did find her husband's bedroom behaviour to be 'very different from what might be expected' (91). I also grant that such disguises are a common plot device in Haywood's texts and in other eighteenth-century fiction and, therefore, might be considered to be an ordinary and insignificant comedic turn in the plot (see, for example Aphra Behn's *Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and his Sister* in 1684-1687, Delarivier Manley's

The New Atalantis in 1709, Defoe's *Moll Flanders* in 1722, and Fielding's *The Female Husband* in 1746).[29] Nevertheless, in the context of the foregrounded questions that pervade this text—question of belief, doubt, and the reliability of evidence—this incident suggests that, at times, our senses can be fooled even about what appears to be the simplest questions of reality, such as the sex of one's lover. As Justicia, herself, has acknowledged earlier in the text, 'Things are frequently very different in Reality from what they appear to the World or sometimes even to their greatest Intimates' (44-45).

Even Justicia's initial introduction to Campbell includes problems of deceptive appearances. Justicia first meets Campbell at Mrs. Bulweir's house, just after Justicia and another guest have been accusing Campbell of being an imposter. It just so happens that during this gathering, Campbell is 'in the Neighborhood', and Mrs. Bulweir, seeing him pass by the window, brings him into a private room and disguises him to play a jest or 'cheat' on the group. To do so, she has another gentleman present Campbell to her guests as 'a Russian Man of Quality, who could not speak a word of English; and added a thousand plausible Circumstances, which sufficiently engaged the Belief of all that heard [the gentleman introduce him]' (4). Justicia says that no one in the room had met Campbell before, and they believed he was high-class Russian, despite him being a lower-class, deaf-mute Scotsman. It is clear, in fact, from incidents recounted in both of Haywood's texts about Campbell that people often have trouble recognizing him because they expect him

[29] For more on disguise, see Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); and Catherine Craft-Fairchild, *Masquerade and Gender: Disguise and Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century Fictions by Women* (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993).

to look different from others. Incidents like these confirm the difficulty of trusting that appearances do, in fact, reflect reality.

Readers regularly come across examples of deception when Campbell's customers disguise their appearance and class, and there is more than one successful cross-dresser in the text.[30] Unfortunately for his clients (and, by implication, for Haywood's readers), Campbell is the only one who can truly distinguish between appearance and reality. The five senses of his customers are not sufficient, thereby implying that only by *extra*-sensory perception can truth be determined. However, since the legitimacy of that extra-sensory perception remains in doubt, readers are left with no reliable method to gain knowledge and determine truth even as they are put in a position (as modest witnesses) to do so. In other words, Haywood's sceptical aesthetic puts the readers in an authoritative position at the same time as it leads them to question their ability to exercise that authority. Therein lies the burden and anxiety that Haywood consistently connects to authority and autonomy. If Justicia has failed as an authority on Campbell (and she has), she also has demonstrated the difficulty of reaching a conclusion about the question-at-issue, namely Campbell's legitimacy. While the question about Campbell, himself, might not seem particularly urgent, it is only the most explicit question in the text. There are many other questions that are equally difficult to answer, namely those asked by all of Campbell's clients, questions which the clients, themselves, cannot sufficiently answer even when they are in the autonomous position to do so. The question about Campbell, then, signifies, to some degree, all of the questions in the text that require judgment.

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[30] See, for example, Haywood, *Spy*, 16.

Campbell's Deafness and Sensory Perception

These questions of judgment are further complicated by Campbell's deafness and claims to second sight, because 1) he claims to have knowledge that others with all five senses do not, 2) his deafness cannot be proven through 'ocular demonstration' or experimentation, and 3) testimony about Campbell's deafness and/or second sight is typically deemed insufficient without corroborating evidence. Therefore, doubts about Campbell took several forms: His sceptics doubted not only whether or not he had the 'second sight', but also whether or not he was actually deaf—neither of which they found easy to prove true or false. Haywood includes stories about sceptics and customers who tested Campbell by performing self-styled experiments. Some tested him with 'jests' and tricks, often trying to cause him to cry out from pain. Justicia tells her reader about doctors who mistreated Campbell, assailants who attacked him in bars in order to provoke him to speak, and a woman who smashed his fingers in a door in an effort to elicit cries of pain.[31]

The debates about Campbell have continued even into the twenty-first century. Felicity Nussbaum finds the evidence 'compelling that Campbell was truly hearing-impaired though he may have had a modicum of hearing' while Lennard J. Davis calls Campbell a 'huckster who only pretended to be deaf and who made his

[31] For examples, see Haywood, *Spy*, 144-50. Also, see *The Dumb Projector*, which focuses in large part on an extended 'jest' (or test) of Campbell's claims to 'second sight', Eliza Haywood, *The Dumb Projector: Being a Surprising Account of a Trip to Holland Made by Mr. Duncan Campbell. With The Manner of his Reception and Behaviour there. As also the various and diverting Occurances that happened on his Departure* (London: Printed for W. Ellis at the Queen's Head in Grace-church-Street; J. Roberts in Warwick-lane; Mrs. Bilingsly at the Royal-Exchange; A. Dod without Temple-bar; and J. Fox in Westminster-Hall, 1725).

money by duping people'.[32] R. Conrad and Barbara C. Weiskrantz argue that Campbell could not have been totally deaf, despite stories that he never spoke—not even when he was drunk. Commenting on the memoir that Campbell allegedly wrote (an attribution that Patrick Spedding finds plausible), they say, 'It is hard to believe from the language that they are the unedited writing of a congenitally deaf man. Rather, they suggest a naïf or a charlatan. The memoirs contain no reference at all to deafness, but consists [sic] of a collection of essays on occult phenomena, together with testimonial letters from admirers'.[33] Conrad and Weiskrantz also point out that Campbell is said to have played the violin and to have tuned it 'by putting the neck of the violin between his teeth', which they say suggests that he possessed 'bone conduction of sound'.[34] Finally, they suggest that Campbell, despite his fame, inspired ridicule among his contemporaries, and they refer to him as the 'despised Campbell'. In addition, he was both attacked and defended in the *Tatler* (1710) and the *Spectator* (1717).[35] Certainly, Campbell was (and still is) a subject of debate. However, for my argument, whether or not he was in fact deaf is not truly important. What matters is the debate itself and that he serves as a signifier for these epistemological questions that seem impossible to answer. It is this signification that makes him such an ideal subject for the themes about judgment that dominate Haywood's text.

It is not surprising, then, that in the eighteenth century, debates about Campbell's deafness intersected with public debates about senses and the 'new

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[32] Nussbaum, *Limits of the Human*; Lennard J. Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body* (London: Verso, 1995), 176n31.
[33] R. Conrad and Barbara C. Weiskrantz, 'Deafness in the 17th Century: Into Empiricism', *Sign Language Studies* 45 (1984): 329; Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004), 654-56.
[34] Ibid., 329.
[35] *Tatler*, No. 14 (11 May 1710); *Spectator*, No. 560 (28 June 1717).

science' or natural philosophy, which often focused on the nature of bodies and 'unnatural' or 'monstrous' manifestations of those bodies, the latter of which threatened 'empirical certainty'.[36] And although Nicholas Mirzoeff resists, of course, framing the deaf as 'monstrous or even disabled', they were, indeed, a curiosity for scientists, philosophers, and lay people in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[37] Conrad and Weiskrantz say, 'The deaf-mute too was an object of this intense curiosity, sometimes morbid, sometimes prurient, and increasingly involving genuine speculation concerning the nature of deafness'.[38] In *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, for example, one of Campbell's customers (a woman) asks Campbell's wife '[h]ow so fine a woman as she could venture on a *Monster*.' The customer also asks, 'How did he make love?' and says 'Lord! I wonder whether he can feel or not?' (154).[39] She is then shocked to meet Campbell and find that he looks no different from other men.[40] Such assumptions were not uncommon, and, as Mirzoeff says, 'Many Enlightenment thinkers regarded the deaf as machines, incapable of independent thought. One of Kant's less celebrated universals was the necessity of speech to reason. Thus he argued that a deaf person "can never achieve more than an analogue of reason"'.[41] Members of the Royal Society showed

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[36] Helen Deutsch and Felicity Nussbaum, *Defects: Engendering the Modern Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 14. See also Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

[37] Nicholas Mirzoeff, 'Paper, Picture, Sign: Conversations between the Deaf, the Hard of Hearing, and Others', in *'Defects': Engendering the Modern Body*, edited by Helen Deutsch and Felicity Nussbaum (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 78.

[38] Conrad and Weiskrantz, 'Deafness in the 17th Century', 319-20.

[39] My italics.

[40] Is it interesting to note that, in *The Dumb Projector*, Duncan Campbell actually visits a house of oddities in Holland, where he has a seizure at the sight of a giant, hay-stuffed rat (37).

[41] Mirzoeff, 'Paper, Picture, Sign', 78.

significant interest in deafness—often holding more generous theories than Kant did—writing books about deaf people, causes of deafness, and efforts to teach the deaf to read, write, and speak. Lennard Davis argues that 'deafness was for the eighteenth century an area of a cultural fascination and a compelling focus for philosophical reflection', and that it was 'perhaps one its central areas of concern'.[42] It seems, then, that Haywood's texts about Campbell, deafness, and second sight should be read in the context of these philosophical debates about empiricism and problems of certainty—a context that suggests Haywood's text might be more than hackwork propaganda and that it, in fact, joins existing conversations about key problems of judgment.

William Bond's Anti-Sceptical Defence of Duncan Campbell

A Spy Upon the Conjurer is not the only text about Duncan Campbell, and much can be gained from considering it in context of the others. Through their shared focus on Campbell, his second sight, and his deafness, these other Campbell texts raise the same questions of credulity and scepticism raised by Haywood, and her text is best read in dialogue with them. The first Campbell text, *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell,* was published in 1720 by William Bond (although it was formerly attributed to Defoe, and even, as late as 2005, to Haywood), and Haywood published her second (but much shorter) Campbell text, *The Dumb Projector* less than a year after the first.[43] William Bond's text serves as

[42] Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy*, 55, and 51. For further accounts of the Royal Society's interest in deafness, see Conrad and Weiskrantz, 'Deafness in the 17th Century'; Lennard Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy*, 50-72.
[43] For Defoe's de-attribution and arguments for Bond as author, see Rodney M. Baine's *Daniel Defoe and the Supernatural* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1969) 137-80; P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owen's *Defoe De-Attributions: A Critique of*

both a biography (of sorts) and an apology for Campbell. Bond, as part of the Hillarian Circle (a literary group with Aaron Hill at its centre that also included Haywood, Martha Fowke Sansom, and Richard Savage, among others), co-wrote *The Plain Dealer* with Aaron Hill and, co-wrote *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon* (1720) and *The Epistles and Poems of Clio and Strephon* (1729) with Martha Fowke Sansom.[44] Bond would have had contact with Haywood, who was still part of the Hillarian Circle in 1720; however, by the time Haywood published her narrative about Duncan Campbell, she was estranged from Martha Fowke and others in Hill's group of writers.[45] This estrangement is marked not only by a break in their personal relationships but also by the diverging directions of their written work. A

J. R. Moore's Checklist (London: Hambledon Press, 1994). Patrick Spedding accepts Baine's attribution to William Bond, in *Bibliography,* 642. Other contemporary texts about Campbell include *The Friendly Demon, or the Generous Apparition; Being a True Narrative of a Miraculous Cure, Newly Perform'd upon that Famous Deaf and Dumb Gentleman, Dr. Duncan Campbel, By a Familiar Spirit that Appeared to Him in a White Surplice, like a Cathedral Singing Boy* (London: Printed and Sold by J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, 1725), which Spedding says is thought to be by Defoe (655). Spedding argues against attributing the *Secret Memoirs* to Defoe or to Haywood (as others have done) and argues that attribution to Campbell, himself, is more plausible (654-56). For the attribution of Bond's book to Haywood, see John Richetti's introduction to *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 2005): xxxvii.

[44] *The Plain Dealer* was published from 23 March 1724 through 7 May 1725. In addition to collaborating with Fowke on the *Epistles*, Bond also included a verse by Fowke as part of the front matter to his Duncan Campbell biography.

[45] To some degree, this timeline should lead us to consider more carefully implications that, when Haywood published *Spy*, she and Campbell were part of the same 'literary set' (see King, 'Spying', 183). For further discussion of Bond's relationship with Aaron Hill and other Hillarians, see Christine Gerrard's *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector: 1685-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 61-80, and Rodney M. Baine's *Daniel Defoe and the Supernatural* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1968): 137-80. For a discussion of Haywood's breach with the Hillarians, see Gerrard, 81-102; and Earla A. Wilputte, *Passion and Language in Eighteenth-Century Language: The Aesthetic Sublime in the Work of Eliza Haywood, Aaron Hill, and Martha Fowke* (New York: Palgrave, 2014), 7-10, 180-81, and 187-195.

comparison of Bond and Haywood's Campbell texts is illustrative of this divergence.

In Bond's 'history' of Campbell, the narrator puts all of his argumentative power behind his claims that Duncan Campbell is legitimate and that his gifts are real. Rather strangely, the text (after the dedicatory epistle and verses) begins with an insertion of a story called 'A Remarkable Passage of an Apparition. 1665', and, at first glance, one might think the apparition story has been inserted into the edition by mistake. But it soon becomes clear that, for Bond, any story affirming the legitimacy of supernatural or 'preternatural' events (e.g., apparitions, second sight, or witchcraft) is relevant fodder for his defence of Campbell and his gifts. To support Campbell's legitimacy, the narrator (who, in the text, is unnamed and is not distinguished from the anonymous author) first attempts to persuade the reader that supernatural or preternatural phenomena are real. To this end, the narrator invokes stories of supernatural experiences from famous, respectable sources, such as notable political figures and philosophers. He then gives an account of Campbell's gifts (along with accounts of how Campbell learned to write and sign) and, finally, he describes various types of witchcraft, contrasting them with Campbell's gifts, which, the narrator argues, are benevolent and legal rather than diabolical or illegal. A note of sincerity rings throughout the text because the narrator presents himself as an authority who is close to Campbell, and he brings all the force of logic to bear upon his argument. There are no rhetorical cues suggesting tension between the author and narrator, and the only challenges to

Bond's authority are those he anticipates from freethinking naysayers. Unlike Haywood's narrator, Bond's is not a 'spy'.[46]

Michael McKeon, in *Origins of the English Novel: 1600-1740*, specifically addresses the kind of 'apparition narratives' that are included in (and in many ways, constitute) Bond's text, placing them firmly within the tensions that existed in the early eighteenth century between optimistic empiricism and more dubious scepticism that called all knowledge into question.[47] In his study, McKeon analyses how these apparition narratives privilege and rely heavily on the original *sources* of the perceived experiences. In other words, when so much depends on perception, as it does in empiricism, the reliability of those sense perceptions as evidence often depends on *who* is doing the perceiving—the 'relator' of the evidence. McKeon quotes Joseph Glanvill, who, writing about witchcraft in 1681 says, 'Now the credit of matters of Fact depends much upon the Relatours, who, if they cannot be deceived themselves nor supposed any ways interested to impose upon others, ought to be credited'.[48] Therefore, the apparition narratives focus heavily on the authority and credibility of those who tell the stories about apparitions and other preternatural events and entities involving such figures as genies and witches. This is why Bond's narrator takes steps to establish his credibility and authority as a 'relator', and it is also what makes Justicia's failings so noteworthy.

Although Glanvill is part of the tradition that valued empiricism and experimentation (he was a major defender of the Royal Society and the 'new science'), he challenged the pyrrhonian scepticism that claimed we could know

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[46] See Bullard, *The Politics of Disclosure*, 173.
[47] McKeon, *Origins*, 83-89.
[48] Ibid., 85.

nothing for certain. He, like others, feared that pyrrhonian scepticism would lead to atheism. Instead, Glanvill aligned himself with 'mitigated' or 'constructive' scepticism (what Troy Boone calls a 'middle way'), which suggests that although we might not be able to gain certain types of knowledge, such as divine knowledge, we can in fact, know some things about appearances in the world through scientific observation.[49] Surprisingly, he extended his trust in observation to support his claims for the existence of apparitions and witches.[50] Susan Handley writes that Glanvill 'sought a healthy balance between reason and revelation' but that his 'moderation was, however, called into question by his somewhat eccentric ideas about the capabilities of witches, which he thought could fly out of windows and morph into animal form'.[51] In general, McKeon characterizes the apparition narratives written by Glanvill and others as a genre that challenged the sceptics, and Troy Boone echoes McKeon when he claims, 'The apparition narratives of Glanvill and his most popular successor, Daniel Defoe, respond to and criticize rationalistic deprivileging of the supernatural'.[52] They do so by privileging appearance and relying heavily on testimony that they deem credible. Haywood's text, in turn, challenges the reliability of appearance by taking a more rationalistic position that doubts both appearance and testimony. Although Justicia can be

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[49] See Popkin, *History of Scepticism,* 15, 208-218; also Troy Boone, 'Narrating the Apparition: Glanvill, Defoe, and the Rise of Gothic Fiction', *The Eighteenth Century* 35.2 (1994): 173-89.

[50] See Popkin, *History of Scepticism*; also Joseph Glanvill, *A Blow at Modern Sadducism in some Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft* (London: Printed by E. C. for J. Collins, 1668) and *Sadducismus Triumphatus: Or a Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions* (London, 1681).

[51] Susan Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), 32.

[52] Boone, 'Narrating the Apparition', 173. Regarding Defoe's apparition narratives, George Starr has challenged the attribution to Defoe of one of the most famous: 'Why Defoe Probably Did not Write *The Apparition of Mrs. Veal*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 15.3-4 (2003): 421-50.

aligned with the narrators of these anti-rationalistic texts, her failings suggest that Haywood is satirizing Justicia's judgment, not lauding it.

William Bond, in his Duncan Campbell biography, incorporates stories from Glanvill and Richard Baxter, both of whom McKeon discusses as writers of anti-sceptical apparition narratives.[53] Like Glanvill and Baxter, Bond challenges incredulous 'free-thinkers' who doubt supernatural reports, suggesting they have no reason for scepticism other than their own incredulity (80).[54] He also uses rhetoric like Glanvill's and Baxter's in which he suggests that such scepticism of reputable sources potentially (and perhaps ironically or even paradoxically) undermines the Enlightenment projects of empiricism and documentation altogether. Anticipating naysayers who reject testimony of those who claim to have had supernatural experiences, Bond says, 'In a word, if People will be led by Suspicions and remote Possibilities of Fraud and Contrivance of such Men, all Historical Truth shall be ended, when it consists not with a Man's private Humour or Prejudice to admit it' (106). Bond's statement characterizes scepticism as a flawed personal disposition, a bias that can never be overcome by evidence.

Within his own narrative, Bond regularly invokes the empirical evidence of sensory perception, as when, after his first apparition narrative, he writes,

> These Things are true, and I know them to be so with as much certainty as Eyes and Ears can give me, and until I can be perswaded [sic] that my Senses do deceive me about their proper object and by that perswasion deprive my self of the strongest Inducement to

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[53] McKeon, *Origins of the English Novel*, 85. Bond specifically cites Richard Baxter's *The Certainty of the World of Spirits . . . Fully Evinced by the Unquestionable Histories of Apparitions, Operations, Witchcrafts, Voices, &c* (1691).

[54] See also Sarah Hutton on 'free-thinkers' in Sarah Hutton, *British Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 208-25.

> believe the Christian Religion, I must as will assert, that these Things in this Paper are true. (31)

Throughout the text he cites case after case in which people have seen and heard—with 'Eyes and Ears'—various spirits and apparitions. And, like the apparition narratives analysed by McKeon, Bond's text also focuses on the *sources* of his evidence and tales, citing such specific cases as those related by Socrates, Aristotle, King James, John Donne, and the Italian poet Tasso, saying,

> Men, who will not believe such Things as these, so well attested to us, and given us by such Authorities, because they did not see them themselves, nor any Thing of the like Nature, ought not only to deny the *Demon* of *Socrates*; but that there was such a Man as Socrates himself. They should not dispute the *Genij* of Caesar, Cicero, Brutus, Marc Anthony; but avow, that there were never any such Men existing upon the Earth, and overthrow all credible History whatsoever. Mean while, all Men, but those who run such Lengths in their fantastical Incredulity, will from the Facts above-mentioned, rest satisfied, that there are such Things as Evil and Good *Genij*; and that Men have sometimes a Commerce with them by all their Senses, particularly those of *Seeing* and *Hearing*; and will not therefore be startled at the strange Fragments of Histories, which I am going to relate of our young Duncan Campbell . . . . (101)[55]

In this passage, Bond suggests that if we cannot accept testimony as evidence, we can have no 'history' since all history is based on testimony. Even so, he still

[55] See pages 78-123 for Bond's references to famous cases reported by credible sources.

emphasizes the importance of sensory perceptions. At times, Bond seems almost to elide 'testimony of experience' with experience itself. But writers of the apparition narratives considered testimony from respectable people to be as reliable as a scientific experiment or a report about the existence of another continent. Glanvill, for example, suggested that testimony about witches from a reliable source was no different from testimony provided by someone who had seen Boyle's air pump.[56] Being of a similar mind, Bond, after providing his authority-based evidence, says that 'free-thinkers' and 'unbelieving Gentlemen' should just 'lay down [his] Book' and not 'read one Tittle further' (121). Robert Boyle himself engaged with Glanvill in his fight to prove witchcraft was real, writing to Glanvill in 1762 with a 'detailed report of an alleged Irish witch whose powers he had personally verified'.[57] John Waller also notes that Boyle 'discoursed at length on the alleged phenomena of "second sight". . . .'[58] Bond's text, then, is a part of a genre that speaks directly to empirical questions, but his text privileges sensory perception and testimony, both of which, for Haywood, invite doubt and scepticism. He also demonstrates the concern that free-thinkers and sceptics undermine society by rejecting what should be common standards of judgment. Haywood questions these standards.

Although McKeon does not mention the *Life and Adventure of Duncan Campbell* in his discussion of apparition narratives, it clearly reflects the same elements and conventions employed by the authors that McKeon cites—elements that have been overlooked by the few scholars who have studied Bond's text

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[56] John Waller, *Leaps in the Dark: The Making of Scientific Reputations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 28.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

and/or its relationship to Haywood's. Two exceptions are Rebecca Bullard and Riccardo Capoferro. Bullard wisely notes that Haywood's text should be studied against Bond's, but Bullard does not focus on problems of scepticism but rather the texts' opposing approaches to curiosity.[59] Capoferro, in a discussion of scepticism and apparition narratives mentions both texts and says that, like apparition narratives, the Duncan Campbell narratives 'bridge the gap between empiricism and the beliefs it implicitly calls into question'.[60] Capoferro admits that *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* offers a 'developed example of ontological hesitation', but oddly he also argues that the text does not 'directly engage with epistemological problems' but rather 'presents itself as a form of pure entertainment'. To support his claim, he writes, 'In most of these anecdotes, Duncan's powers are described as a source of uncertainty for his customers, although they are ultimately verified. A shift from hesitation to certainty also informs the first chapter, in which the narrator herself stages her first encounter with Duncan'.[61] Capoferro's discussion of Haywood's text is brief, and it ignores the ongoing challenges to Campbell's legitimacy that thread throughout Haywood's text all the way to the very last page. He ignores the questionable reliability of the narrator along with the fact that her intended audience, the unnamed lord, is identified as a sceptic who doubts Campbell's powers and who does not believe in the supernatural.[62] Essentially Capoferro overlooks or dismisses the engagement with 'epistemological problems' that, I argue, dominate the text. In fact, not only does Haywood engage with epistemological problems, but by doing so—by creating a sceptical text with an

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[59] Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, 171.
[60] Capoferro, *Empirical Wonder,* 137-43.
[61] Ibid., 140.
[62] Justicia anticipates and references his scepticism throughout the text, but she makes specific comments about how he ridicules her stories of witchcraft (150).

unreliable narrator that must be evaluated by the reader—she experiments with point of view and, therefore, advances the novelistic aesthetic of her work at the same time that she privileges scepticism and doubt over credulity.

Authority and The Unreliable Relator

Haywood's narrator, like Bond's, claims that her purpose is to defend Campbell's legitimacy. However, in most other ways, Haywood's narrative differs strikingly from Bond's, suggesting that her purpose differs as well. Although the stated purposes of Haywood's text follow the biographical and apologetic purposes of Bond's, in actuality the work effectively subverts the role of the authoritative and trustworthy 'relator' and, instead, is told from the point of view of an unreliable narrator. Whereas Bond's narrator presents himself as an authorized biographer who is writing to a large audience, Haywood's narrator, Justicia, is an unauthorized 'spy' whose argument purportedly is directed in letters to an audience of one: her friend, the unnamed lord.[63] In addition, although Bond (or, one might say, his narrator) consistently asserts narrative authority and credibility, Haywood's narrator regularly interjects details that likely will encourage readers to question her authority and credibility. For example, early in the text, Justicia suggests that one of her reasons for presenting her tales to the lord is that she, as a woman, is not fit to judge:

> As I communicate my Thoughts of this Affair only to one whose good Nature and Friendship I am secure of, I deal with that Confidence which I take to be the most distinguishable Testimony of Sincerity. However, as Custom, and the natural Austerity of your Sex denies to

[63] Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, 174.

> ours those Advantages of Education, which alone can make either capable of judging, I shall submit to the Opinion of those whose Learning renders their Sentiments more to be relied on, and should esteem it as a prodigious Obligation if your Lordship would, at some leisure Hour, favour me with a Line or two on this Head. (18)

In this passage, Justicia says that she is sharing her testimony with the lord because she trusts that he will not respond mockingly to her arguments. She also suggests that she is submitting her thoughts to him so that he can offer a final judgment because she, like all women, is denied the 'Advantages of Education', and is, therefore, not truly 'capable of judging'. Also, later in the text, Justicia admits that she does not always trust her own opinion (126). With this, Justicia assigns herself a very different role from that taken by the narrator of Bond's text. Bond's narrator says, 'I take upon myself a very great Task; I erect myself as it were into a kind of a Judge: I will sum up the Evidences of both sides; and I shall, wherever I see Occasion, intimate which Side of the Argument bears the most Weight with me' (260). Although he acknowledges that his readers will function as a 'jury', he, unlike Justicia, confidently claims the role of judge and he never offers evidence that would contradict his credibility. Although Justicia tells her reader she cannot fully function as judge, her name suggests she embodies judgment and justice, and this irony creates tension. As a result, Haywood's readers truly are invited to be the judges and the jury of Justicia's claims. Because of the questionable reliability of the narrator (and because of the use of the second person 'you' as she speaks directly to the her audience throughout the narrative) the position of 'reader as judge' is more authentic with Haywood than with Bond, and so Haywood's text takes a more literary turn.

Although Justicia does not have all of the qualities of a twentieth-century unreliable narrator, she does have the kind of questionable reliability one sees in other early eighteenth-century texts. Tracing the history of the unreliable narrator, Ansgar Nunning says, 'One of the earliest instances in British fiction of a full-fledged unreliable narrator is to be found in . . . Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*, published in 1800'.[64] However, it is worth noting that late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century writers such as Aphra Behn and Daniel Defoe created narrators with dubious reliability that required evaluation from the readers. For example, Karen Bloom Gevirtz points out that, in part three of *Love-Letters from a Nobleman to His Sister*, 'Behn complicates the situation further by using the seemingly reliable narrator to explore how people deceive not only each other, but also themselves'. [65] Although Behn's narrative structure in *Love-Letters* is much different from the consistent first-person point-of-view one finds in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, the questions of authority and self-deception apply. Justicia implies that she is a reliable 'relator', especially as she invokes the language of natural philosophers, but she undercuts that implied authority with interjections about problems with her judgment—interjections that I will discuss in more detail below.[66] Readers confront similar questions about reliability in Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722), which, as Eve Tavor Bannet argues, also invites judgment from the reader:

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[64] Ansgar Nunning, 'Reconceptualizing the Theory, History, and Generic Scope of Unreliable Narration: Towards a Synthesis of Cognitive and Rhetorical Approaches', in *Narrative Unreliability in the Twentieth-Century First-Person Novel*, edited by Elke D'hoker and Gunther Martens (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008): 57.
[65] Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 53.
[66] For a discussion of similar interjections in Behn's *The History of the Nun; or, The Fair Vow-Breaker* (1688), see Gevirtz, *Women the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 62.

> [Defoe's reader] is invited to work with the agreement or disagreement between H.F.'s testimony and that of other witnesses, whom he also hears. [The reader] is required to use 'diligence, attention, and exactness' in determining how far H.F.'s evaluation of the testimonies of witnesses is true to the reality of things and how far H.F. is himself a reliable witness; and he is asked to 'proportion consent to the different probabilities'.[67]

Just as Defoe's readers must evaluate H.F.'s testimony, Haywood's readers must evaluate Justicia's reasoning and determine if her testimony is 'true to the reality of things'. With *Spy*, Haywood creates a text that appears to be a biography like Bond's, but by using narrative strategies from fiction (including amatory fiction) she creates an account of Duncan Campbell that requires more active judgment from the reader than does Bond's book. These generic and rhetorical differences suggest that *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* is not merely a continuation of Bond's anti-sceptical, Campbell-endorsing agenda but rather a sceptical challenge to the kind of credulity exhibited by his text. The differences also challenge assessments that deem its central purpose as propaganda. Kathryn R. King says, for example, that,

> *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* began as a piece of hack work, a kind of infomercial, if you will, intended to plug Duncan Campbell, a deaf-mute fortune-teller, quack doctor, and by the 1720s, member of Eliza Haywood's literary set. . . . Haywood, in 1724 already a seasoned professional, set out, it would seem, to crank out a straightforward promotional piece—the plan apparently was to string together anecdotes testifying to the seerer's [sic] wonderful gifts—but

[67] Tavor, *Scepticism*, 51.

> somewhere along the way she seems to have become interested in Campbell as a brother of the pen.[68]

Although I do not dispute Haywood's potential interest in Campbell as a marginalized figure or the fact that Haywood recognized the market value of her narrative, I would suggest that the tensions in the text suggest there is more at work than one would find in a 'straightforward promotional piece'. In addition, in King's political biography of Haywood, which only gives a few sentences to *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, she calls the text a 'fascinating variant on the scandal chronicle'.[69]Although, to some extent, this is true (the text does, like Haywood's other scandal narratives, include references to various people in and out of her circle), the text reflects the conventions of the biography more than those of the scandal narrative. However, Haywood's narrative frame, along with her unreliable, self-deprecating, and allegorical narrator, suggests a greater ambiguity and playfulness than we see in Bond's biographical text, and as Fred Parker has noted, narrative playfulness is a feature of texts that exhibit 'sceptical thinking'.[70]

Spy's ambiguous, fictional first-person narrative also makes it important in the consideration of the development of eighteenth-century fictionality and the novel. Philip Stewart argues that in this time, 'narrators began reaching inside themselves and putting into play their own perceptions or judgments. Once the novel starts making the narrator's inner being one if its principal subjects, its horizon expands manifoldly . . .'.[71] Justicia's perceptions and judgments are certainly one of the texts 'principal subjects', and this focus on the subjectivity of

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[68] King, 'Spying', 183.
[69] King, *Political Biography,* 170.
[70] Parker, *Scepticism and Literature*, 2.
[71] Philip Stewart, 'The Rise of *I*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 13 (2001): 178.

this fictional, unreliable narrator serves both to satirize other credulous texts and to complicate its role as propaganda. In fact, rather than attempting to manipulate readers into believing what Justicia says about Campbell, the text's irony and fictionality serve to create a 'novel authority' that shifts the power and burden of judgment onto the readers.

Gendered Scepticism

As Haywood grapples with problems of doubt and the language of the 'new science' or natural philosophy, one finds a 'gendering' of these problems in her work as she places these problems within contexts of intersubjectivity and interiority. The noted founders and practitioners of natural philosophy were mostly men, and they typically applied their empiricism or scepticism to questions of nature and God. Haywood engages with conventional elements of empiricism—such as experience, perception, and judgment—but her questions tend to focus more on *people* than on God or nature. This focus on individuals (and their interactions) makes sense in light of the attention that Enlightenment writers and philosophers gave to emerging topics of subjectivity and selfhood, and also in light of women's increasing ability and responsibility to make choices related to other individuals in their lives in terms of marriage, family, money, and so on. *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, like other Haywood texts, highlights a problem about people: it is extremely difficult to gain knowledge about other people (and ourselves) even though such knowledge is necessary for, and can have significant consequences for, our daily lives. As Haywood shifts the epistemological conversation to topics of people and relationships, she inserts women into the dialogue. As Karen Bloom Gevirtz points out, the epistemologies of the new science 'valorized the isolated

individual (the man)' and, therefore, 'the individual who could not or ought not exist as an isolated entity (the woman) was removed from the systems of knowledge production'.[72] In *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, Haywood engages with and challenges systems of knowledge, migrating conventional epistemological questions and problems to the realm of individuals' daily lives and relationships. One might say that by doing this, she genders these epistemological challenges. Conversely, one also might say that she *de*-genders them by extracting them from male-centred dialogue.

Regardless, questions about other people prove to be as challenging—if not more so—than questions about nature and God. Knowledge about people is not only thwarted by flawed perception and biased judgment, but by the fact that other people are often wilfully deceptive—a problem that Haywood features in almost every one of her narratives.[73] Earla Wilputte, in *Passion and Language in Eighteenth-Century Literature: The Aesthetic Sublime in the Work of Eliza Haywood, Aaron Hill, and Martha Fowke*, discusses Haywood's attention to emotional fakery, noting that Haywood's *The British Recluse* (1722) and *The Injured Husband* (1723), more than her other texts, focus on 'how love can be faked to delude and entrap the unwary'.[74] I would add that other Haywood texts from the 1720s, such as *Memoirs of Certain Island Adjacent to Utopia*, *The City Jilt*, and *Fantomina*—also address these problems of knowing whether another's emotions are real or fake. In fact, it is difficult to identify a Haywood text that does not investigate the problems of deception, and often this deception is about emotion (or the lack

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[72] Gevirtz, *Women, The Novel, and Natural Philosophy,* 29.
[73] Deception is even the first point of concern in Haywood's 'conduct manual', *A Present for the Servant Maid* (1743).
[74] Wilputte, *Passion and Language*, 150.

thereof). Furthermore, in her texts, deception is almost impossible to penetrate, and often the person being deceived can only learn the truth when the deceiver chooses to reveal him- or herself, or when the deceived person engages in deception of his or her own in order to gain or regain epistemic privilege. These efforts often come in the form of 'spying', as we see in the case of Justicia.

For Haywood, deception often presents itself as a problem of sensory perception—one of appearance versus reality—a problem that dominated philosophical discussions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about the inability to see beyond the exteriors of nature—beyond appearance. How much more difficult is it to see beyond the exterior of people to their 'inaccessible interior'?[75] Perhaps it is not surprising then that in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, Justicia says that it is Campbell's knowledge of interiority that is *most* startling:

> [T]ho I had often been surprised at the wonderful Effects of his Predictions, yet nothing ever was so alarming, as his writing down immediately what was the Intentions of the Person before him. In other Things, his Art seem'd to consist in the Knowledge of Deeds; but here he dived into Thoughts, made it appear that he was acquainted with the most secret Recesses of the Soul, and saw each rising immature Desire long before Time could ripen it for Action. (22)

At several points in the text, Justicia and other customers comment on Campbell's ability to know a person's 'disposition' (137, 161). In this way, Campbell has an epistemological power that far exceeds those available through sensory

[75] Subha Mukherji, 'Trying, Knowing, and Believing: Epistemic Plots and the Poetics of Doubt', in *Fictions of Knowledge: Fact, Evidence, and Doubt* (London: Palgrave, 2012), 84.

perception. Even though *Spy* is not a novel, it explores some of the problems with which the eighteenth-century novel eventually engages—specifically the problems that accompany issues of interiority and intersubjectivity as they relate to the lives of individuals, especially women.

The special significance of epistemological power for women also is addressed by Jennifer Locke in 'Dangerous Fortune-telling in Frances Burney's *Camilla*', in which she notes that fortune-telling, in the eighteenth century, offered a potential way of knowing that 'surpassed and went beyond scientific observation', a way of knowing that was particularly valued by women.[76] She says, 'The majority of eighteenth-century texts advertised themselves as containing exotic, ancient, or occult knowledge that could provide information different from what was provided by conventional epistemologies'.[77] In fact, one of the last letters in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* is from someone asking Campbell about 'Sir Isaac Newton's System of Philosophy' and 'how near it comes to Truth' (247). Duncan Campbell, who calls himself 'a living practical System or Body of new Philosophy',[78] provides the occult or extra-scientific knowledge that is inaccessible to others without 'second sight'— knowledge about the 'new science' itself, as well as knowledge about other people and their intentions that cannot be determined reliably through the five senses. As Jennifer Locke points out, such knowledge would be of particular interest to women: 'The strong connection between women and fortune-telling in the period can in part be explained by the relative unpredictability of women's economic and social lives. Women's futures were

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[76] Jennifer Locke, 'Dangerous Fortune-telling in Frances Burney's *Camilla*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 25.4 (2013): 708.
[77] Locke, 'Dangerous Fortune-telling', 708.
[78] Campbell, qtd. in Capoferro, *Empirical Wonder*, 138.

understood as difficult or even impossible to forecast and, therefore, were the most in need of an alternative form of projection'.[79] Campbell's clients, who are mostly women, have questions about whom they will marry, whom they *should* marry, who is lying to them, and so on. They see deception all around them and they recognize that their perceptions and experiences often are insufficient. They seek Campbell's preternatural answers to these questions because appearances (and people) often are deceiving, and individual judgments often are biased. However, even as Haywood, in *Spy*, broadens epistemological questions to include knowledge about people, especially Duncan Campbell and his customers, she still uses the language and themes of the 'new science', focusing on sensory perception, the problems of appearance, and the problems of premature judgment. Therefore, she brings the problems of knowledge production into the realm of women while also engaging with the epistemological problems and issues of the 'supernatural' that are addressed by male philosophers. However, Haywood offers a sceptical challenge to the apparition narratives and biographies written by those philosophers and therefore questions their standards of knowledge and judgment and responds with her own extreme scepticism.

Conclusion

In Haywood's text about Campbell, readers are presented with a man who is limited to four senses, yet who, somehow, possesses more knowledge than anyone who uses all five. The fact that Campbell knows what others—who are in full possession of their senses—do not, suggests both the limits of sensory perception and the degree to which extrasensory perception (or, one might say,

[79] Locke, 'Dangerous Fortune-telling', 705.

occult knowledge) would be required for the attainment of certainty. Most of Campbell's clients learn from him that they are in danger of ruin or that their fortunes are about to change for better or for worse. When they ignore his knowledge and related advice, they suffer. When they attend to his knowledge and advice, they prosper. The apparent inability of any of the characters to determine truth without occult knowledge such as Campbell's—along with all of the other elements of sensory deception at play in the text—is the foundation for my argument that, in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, Eliza Haywood takes a sceptical position toward Campbell and the acquisition of knowledge in general, by which I mean that Haywood suggests that knowledge, if not impossible, is very difficult to acquire and that, therefore, one ought to privilege doubt and move less quickly from perception to belief or volition.

Felicity Nussbaum says, 'Unquestionably, Campbell's station as a hot commercial property motivated Haywood's opportunistic desire to capitalize on the popular rage that made his conjectures marketable. But she may also have found in his condition a cultural parable of women writer's struggles to be heard, their difficulty in speaking, and the paralysis that comes from trying to articulate that position.' I agree with Nussbaum that Haywood likely was capitalizing on the market potential of Campbell's story, and she also might have seen similarities between her struggles and his, but it is important not to overlook the epistemological concerns of Haywood's text, along with the degree to which her text enters a pre-existing conversation perpetuated by men such as Glanvill, Defoe, and Bond. Like these other texts, Haywood's *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* enters a conversation about empiricism and epistemology, one that focuses specifically on debates about scepticism and credulity. When we consider Haywood's text as part

of this larger conversation and context, we can better understand its genre and its ideas.

As much as Haywood focuses on Campbell's deafness and second sight, she also focuses on his clients' weaknesses—their wishful thinking, poor perception, and bad judgments—all of which contribute to their 'blindness'. Through these weaknesses—weaknesses that her narrator, Justicia, shares—Haywood privileges a position of doubt, a doctrine of suspension, over a disposition towards credulity. With this move, she enters the territory of philosophical scepticism, challenging the work of Glanvill and Bond. Although *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* consistently suggests that characters must accept the epistemological burdens of securing knowledge and determining truth—if for no other reason than self-preservation—the text also implies that certainty (justified, true belief) is very difficult if not impossible to attain and that truth is often imperceptible through the senses and impenetrable or wishfully ignored during the reasoning process. Not only does *Spy* frequently portray humans as 'ill-judging' creatures who are easily deceived, but also the narrator (and the narrated events) imply that even the most assiduous empirical investigation is no guarantee against error and deception. At the same time, the narrator, herself, is presented as flawed and unreliable. Through these narrative elements, Haywood demonstrates that truth is elusive at the same time that she charges her characters and her readers with epistemic responsibility. This double bind of scepticism and responsibility leaves the characters—and, necessarily, the readers—in crisis, and it demonstrates a central challenge of the modern individual.

In addition, by shifting her empirical concerns to the realm of people and relationships, she highlights the special challenges of the modern individual

woman. Although in later texts Haywood attempts to move beyond scepticism (as I will discuss in Chapters Three and Four), in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, she offers no true resolution to the empirical crisis and, instead, privileges scepticism and doubt—a position that engages with and opposes the position presented by William Bond and other early eighteenth-century writers about Campbell and the supernatural. However, even though her text is in dialogue with them, it also, through its first-person unreliable narrator, develops a fictional aesthetic that shifts authority from its narrator to its readers. At the same time, it performs and highlights the burdens and difficulties of such authority.

CHAPTER TWO:

POLITICAL SCEPTICISM IN *THE ADVENTURES OF EOVAAI*

In *The Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveo* (1736), Eliza Haywood brings her scepticism into the realm of politics where one finds that problems of knowledge and judgment can be even more urgent and complicated than they are in the private sphere. In politics, threats can arise suddenly, and plots typically involve multiple parties, alliances, and motives. Most importantly, Haywood's text demonstrates how these threats can undermine the autonomy of the individual as both a private person and a member of the body politic. In this chapter, I argue that *Eovaai* is a tightly-woven text in which each narrative thread works with and against the others in order to interrogate the stability of the social contract and the role of individual autonomy within liberal government. At the same time, the complex narrative structure of *Eovaai* develops the interpretive sophistication and judgment of its readers by inviting readers to suspend 'disbelief' of the story itself while, at the same time, ensuring that the reader's judgment is engaged and required in order to interpret meaning. As in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, Haywood demonstrates scepticism about sensory perception and the power of reasoning, but in *Eovaai*, she complicates these problems by increasing the magnitude of deception and the number of voices that threaten the autonomy of her characters as well as the judgment of her readers. These threats mimic those faced by individual political subjects and sovereigns and reflect Haywood's interest in the burdens and anxieties of autonomy as well as her political scepticism about the social contract.

Political scepticism has often been linked with writers like Pope and Swift, but rarely with Haywood or other women writers. In addition, Haywood scholars have overlooked the degree to which, in *Eovaai*, Haywood is in dialogue with 'a male tradition of erudition' related to history and philosophy.[1] In his book on scepticism in the eighteenth-century literature, Fred Parker explores the paradoxical power of scepticism to lead to greater understanding, and he argues that this power is observable in the work of Pope, Sterne, and others.[2] Parker sets the context for these writers by recognising the sceptical tradition in the early modern period that was seen in philosophers such as Montaigne, Bayle, Locke, and Hume. But he also notes that each of these thinkers suggests a solution to the scepticism caused by uncertainty or the insufficiency or reason: For Locke, it is experience; for Bayle, it is the Gospel; for Montaigne, it is self-reflection combined with obedience; and for Hume, it is backgammon.[3] These philosophers' 'answers' to scepticism relate primarily to existential uncertainties about God and questions of philosophy. However, their 'answers' raise questions about how scepticism might manifest—both thematically and aesthetically—in texts written by women, especially since pyrrhonian sceptics, in the face of their scepticism, assert that the best course of action is to follow custom.[4] However, this default position can be problematic for women. In addition Haywood's scepticism does not result from religious or ontological threads that have been teased until they tangle; rather, her scepticism relates to pragmatic questions about the private and public sphere,

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[1] I take this phrase from Aurora Wolfgang, 'Intertextual Conversations: The Love-Letter and the Footnote in Madame de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Persienne*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10.1 (1997), 20.
[2] Parker, *Scepticism and Literature*.
[3] Ibid., 58, 19, 35, and 25.
[4] See Thorne, *Dialectic of Counter-Enlightenment*, 85-116; Popkin, *History of Scepticism*, 47-52.

such as, 'Does he really love me?', 'Does he want to steal all my money?', 'What is the best system of government?', and 'To whom (and to what) should I give my consent?'. These questions inherently assume the need for individuals (including women) to exercise their autonomous judgment rather than following the precepts or dictates of men. Haywood's scepticism takes a different shape than that which dominates the debates among male philosophers and literary writers, and therefore it deserves greater attention than it has received. Haywood's texts make clear that the imbalances of power often lead women to be sceptical about those who establish custom, and her texts explore the consequences for women who resist custom. Haywood complicates traditional responses to scepticism even further in *Eovaai* because her central characters are not only female, but also they are monarchs. They *must* rule; they *must* decide. They cannot permanently suspend judgment. But in an environment in which the 'custom' of absolute monarchies has been abolished, and in which the 'custom' is for men to have power over women, there are no established customs for these monarchs to follow. Their personal fates and the fates of their kingdoms rely on their judgment and their ability to effectively exercise their autonomy. Entire kingdoms depend upon their judgments, and the level of anxiety, especially for Princess Eovaai, is high. Recognising this thread in *Eovaai* can help us understand the degree to which Haywood is engaging with the other voices and multiple genres of the eighteenth century that influenced fiction and the novel. To this end, after first providing context and demonstrating the need for my analysis, I will demonstrate the text's scepticism about perception, testimony, and partiality, connecting each of these areas of concern to male traditions of discourse with which Haywood is engaged. Then, I analyse what Haywood's scepticism implies about the issues of autonomy

and consent. Before I conclude, I also touch on one additional threat to autonomy and consent: the problem of force.

The Problem of Politics in *Eovaai*

The central character of *The Adventures of Eovaai* is a young princess who is struggling for sovereignty of her kingdom while also being exposed to the arguments and seductions of multiple types of government, including absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, and republicanism. When the story begins, the King of Ijaveo has died, leaving his kingdom to his daughter, Eovaai, whom he has educated in Lockean 'precepts of government'. In addition to her education, which cannot protect her from the 'Blows of Fate', her father gives her a special, protective jewel made by a powerful 'genii'.[5] However, Eovaai loses the jewel and, with it, all political influence. Subsequently, she is imprisoned by the heads of state who compete with each other for power over her and the kingdom. Eovaai is then liberated (or, one might say, kidnapped) from her captivity by Ochihatou, a necromancer who is the prime minister of the neighbouring kingdom of Hypotofa. He attempts to seduce Eovaai in an effort to gain control over both her person and her kingdom. Although he appears to be a handsome leader of a fruitful land, such appearances are merely the result of a magical spell that he has cast upon all citizens of Hypotofa. In reality, he is a deformed and evil magician, and the land is barren and devoid of life.

Eovaai remains under his spell until a good Genii, Halafamai, whose name we are told means 'Truth', gives Eovaai a magical telescope that allows her, once

[5] Eliza Haywood, *The Adventures of Eovaai, Princess of Ijaveo*, ed. Earla A. Wilputte (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999), 55.

again, to see reality as it truly is. She manages to escape Hypotofa and, after wandering, finds herself in a republican land where she engages in debates about monarchy and listens to a harangue meant to inspire revolution against Ochihatou. Although she is kidnapped again by Ochihatou, she eventually is rescued by Adelhu, the exiled prince of Hypotofa whose murder Ochihatou had ordered, but which had not been carried out. When Ochihatou is defeated and Eovaai breaks his 'enchanted wand', he escapes the shame of imprisonment by bashing his own head into an oak tree. The narrative ends when Adelhu and Eovaai fall in love and share the throne of Eovaai's kingdom.

Eovaai is a complicated novel with a significant formal apparatus, multiple narratives (or subplots), and multiple thematic concerns, and in this way, it shows a significant development in complexity from *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*. The multiple voices of the novel include a translator (who provides a preface and multiple footnotes), a narrator, and the many additional voices that the translator cites in the footnotes, which include a commentator, a cabal, and various historians. Many critics have commented on the text's experimental qualities. For example, Earla Wilputte has discussed the way its 'argumentative machinery' invites readers to 'formulate their own conclusions on the fictional action and, by extension, their real society'.[6] The text also reflects a kind of generic instability. Wilputte calls it a 'wild blend of genres including 'a woman's romance, imaginary voyage, oriental fantasy, and erotic novel', and Kathryn King notes that the novel represents 'the distillation of broad reading and much thought' and that it is a 'satirical-allegorical-Bolingbrokean-romantical oriental tale' that has been admired

[6] Wilputte, 'Textual Architecture', 32.

for its hybridized literary qualities'.[7] Ros Ballaster calls it an 'anti-romance' and a 'mock-romance',[8] and points out that '[n]either the word "romance" nor "novel" features in its first title page, which mentions only "adventures" and "occurrences"'.[9] In her analysis of the title page of the 1736 edition, Ballaster does not, however, mention that the text is also called a 'history'; she only mentions this detail when she observes that the frontispiece of the 1741 reprint edition 'abandoned the generic term "history"'.[10] I argue, however, that that Haywood's usage of 'history' on the 1736 title page is not so 'generic' as Ballaster suggests and that *mock-history* should be added to the list of genres that have already been attached to the text. In *Eovaai*, Haywood's content and formal apparatus suggest that she is not only in dialogue with other poets and fiction writers who wrote about politics, but also that she is in dialogue with historians and philosophers about some of the central epistemological problems that trouble their work.

Eovaai is, I will show, influenced by debates related to history, natural philosophy, and political theory, all of which I will discuss in detail below, but its central plot about Princess Eovaai is influenced by the seduction narrative that constitutes amatory fiction. Haywood uses many tropes of amatory fiction, and she uses 'narratives of sexual seduction and betrayal as vehicles for the representation of political seduction and betrayal'.[11] In *Eovaai*, as in the seduction narratives of amatory fiction, Haywood focuses on power relationships between men and women. However, Haywood also subverts some of the tropes of amatory

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[7] Wilputte, 'Introduction', 9; King, *Political Biography*, 85.
[8] Ballaster, 'Gender of Opposition', 163-64.
[9] Ros Ballaster, 'Satire and Embodiment: Allegorical Romance on Stage and Page in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 27 (2015), 650.
[10] Ibid., 650.
[11] Ballaster, 'Gender of Opposition', 149.

fiction, in which men typically have a 'physical and cultural advantage' over women.[12] In this way, the text complicates the sexual politics of what Wilputte calls the 'power granted to a monarch, a husband, a lover, or a Minister'.[13] Although men in *Eovaai* do have physical power over women, the novel also focuses on the inequalities of political and epistemological power that extend beyond gender, even though they are complicated by it. Haywood emphasizes these factors as she subverts a common trope of amatory fiction—one that features men of higher status over women of lower status—by featuring female protagonists who are sovereign monarchs. By putting women in sovereign positions, Haywood exploits the seduction narrative in new ways to connect the 'siege' of seduction to the potential ways that political power—even that of a monarch—can be taken by force or fraud. These complications and subversions of the seduction narrative serve to demonstrate the multiple threats to the social contract that can come from either above or below.

The Adventures of Eovaai is Haywood's most explicitly political novel, and scholars agree that the novel satirizes Robert Walpole, the controversial minister who served George I and George II of England.[14] By 1736, the year *Eovaai* was published, Walpole was a common target of satire, and Jerry Beasley argues that *The Adventures of Eovaai* is one of the most 'vicious' and 'complex' narrative attacks on Walpole, portraying him as a 'perfect monster of evil'.[15] However, regarding other aspects of the politics in *Eovaai*, there is much debate. The efforts

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[12] Sarah Prescott, 'The Debt to Pleasure: Eliza Haywood's Love in Excess and Women's Fiction of the 1720s', *Women's Writing* 7.3 (2000): 435.
[13] Wilputte, 'Textual Architecture', 38.
[14] King, *Political Biography*, 73; Wilputte, introduction to *Eovaai*, 9-34.
[15] Beasley, Jerry. 'Portraits of a Monster: Robert Walpole and Early English Prose Fiction', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 14 (1981): 421.

to establish Haywood's political alliances are certainly warranted since 'a consideration of women's political positions is another way in which we might modify our interpretation of their significance for literary history and the history of the novel'.[16] With, Haywood, however, that goal has proved elusive, as scholars have produced widely different readings of *Eovaai*. For example, Kathryn King in her important political biography of Haywood, claims that *Eovaai* is a satire that functions as propaganda for Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, a Tory who, along with Whigs opposed to Walpole, led a Patriot Opposition.[17] Marta Kvande also provides a Tory reading, but struggles to resolve the 'puzzle' of why the text sometimes presents Whiggish or republican ideas as positive.[18] Similarly, Elizabeth Kubek offers a Patriot Whig reading that also suggests Haywood's alignment with Bolingbroke.[19] In contrast, however, Suzan Last claims that *Eovaai* is a meta-satire that mocks *both* Robert Walpole *and* the literature of the Patriot opposition.[20] Focusing more on political systems than individual alliances, Ros Ballaster concludes that the text ultimately privileges constitutional monarchy, saying, 'Where Haywood is distinctive as an opposition writer is in her critical association of republican with misogynistic sympathies, leading to a distinctly

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[16] Prescott, 'Debt to Pleasure', 430. Prescott indicates that with this claim, she is echoing Kathryn King and Jeslyn Medoff.
[17] King, *Political Biography*, 73-94. For additional information on the Patriot Opposition to the Walpolean ministry, see Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[18] She solves this puzzle by arguing that the positive representations are evidence of concessions on the behalf of opposition collaboration. Marta Kvande, 'The Outsider Narrator in Eliza Haywood's Political Novels', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 43.3 (2003): 640.
[19] Elizabeth Kubek, 'The Key to Stowe: Toward a Patriot Whig Reading of Eliza Haywood's *Eovaai*', in *Presenting Gender: Changing Sex in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Chris Mounsey (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006): 104-21.
[20] Suzan Last, 'The Cabal', 25-46.

"feminocentric", if not "feminist", argument for constitutional monarchy'.[21] However, in contrast to Ballaster, Earla Wilputte argues that *Eovaai* does not in fact privilege a constitutional monarchy, but rather republicanism, and she suggests that the text supports Prince Frederick, heir to the throne. Although Wilputte recognises the ambiguity in *Eovaai*, saying at one point that Haywood is 'equally critical of all views', she also concludes that *Eovaai* is pro-republican and that the formal structures of the novel 'suggest that perhaps the female characters' problems and the belittlement they suffer would not exist in a Republican commonwealth'.[22] Like Wilputte, Christopher Loar offers a republican reading, saying that the novel is a 'gendered critique of constitutional monarchy' that 'point[s] to the limitations of constitutional monarchy as a framework for liberty for women'.[23] Recently, Jennifer Hargrave has gone in an entirely new direction, arguing that in *Eovaai*, Haywood 'advocates a precise model of political reform' that 'couples Locke's liberal theory with Chinese—specifically Confucian—morality'.[24]

Haywood's 'slippery political alliances', as Catherine Ingrassia calls them, have been noted, of course, but Toni Bowers argues that even though 'it may finally prove impossible to pin down Haywood's partisanship in a monolithic or definitive fashion . . . , it is possible to recognise the ideological implications of her

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[21] Ros Ballaster, 'Gender of Opposition', 161.
[22] Wilputte, introduction to *Eovaai*, 33; Wilputte, 'Textual Architecture', 33. The debate is also reflected in disagreement about Haywood's dedication of the book to Sarah Churchill. Ballaster says the dedication is ironic ('Gender of Opposition', 157) while Wilputte claims that 'by 1736 Haywood admired Sarah as a virulent opponent of Walpole', in Wilputte, introduction to *Eovaai*, 45n1.
[23] Christopher Loar, *Political Magic: British Fictions of Savagery and Sovereignty, 1650-1750* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), 190 and 187.
[24] Jennifer L. Hargrave, '"To the Glory of the Chinese": Sinocentric Political Reform in Eliza Haywood's *The Adventure of Eovaai'*, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 49.1 (2015), 42.

productions at specific moments'.[25] However, I would suggest that even within the single 'moment' of *Eovaai*, the 'ideological implications' are difficult to classify according to any singular political end. Therefore, in this chapter, I resist the temptation to pin down Haywood's party politics in *Eovaai*, despite the political nature of the text. I do not mean to say that such pursuits are not worthwhile but rather that I am more interested in what can be gleaned from the slipperiness, itself. Recognition of Haywood's political scepticism and her uncertain alliances can, rather than obscuring *Eovaai's* place in literary history, enhance our understanding of the text's literary significance by clarifying its engagement with contemporary conversations. Ultimately, both the political scepticism and the formal structures of Haywood's text serve to continue her project of shifting authority from the narrator to the autonomous reader—a shift that is important to the development of the novel and its readers and also to the development of political agency among the members of the British body politic. The shift of authority to the readers is not, however, designed to be a comfortable one. Rather, it puts the reader in a position of anxiety because of the threats to good judgment and autonomy that, as Haywood's novel shows, proliferate from multiple directions.

The Problem of Perception

One factor that *Eovaai* shares with amatory fiction and other early eighteenth-century novels is its recognition of how deceptive appearances can

[25] Catherine Ingrassia, 'Eliza Haywood, Periodicals, and the Function of Orality', in Wright and Newman, *Fair Philosopher,* 141; see also Toni Bowers, *Force or Fraud: British Seduction Stories and the Problem of Resistance, 1660-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 226.

undermine one's search for truth. Regarding amatory fiction, one thinks of the many disguises and deceptions in Haywood's novels and novellas, as well as those in works such as Aphra Behn's *Love Letters Between a Noble-man and His Sister* (1684-1687) and Delarivier Manley's *New Atalantis* (1709), as well as Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722) and *Roxana* (1724), just to name a few.[26] Of particular significance in *Eovaai*, however, is Haywood's focus on *collective delusion*. Haywood's amatory fiction focuses primarily on the deception and manipulation of individuals. In Haywood's political writing, however, plot lines often turn on the deception and manipulation of entire kingdoms. In *Eovaai,* and in her scandal narrative *Memoirs of an Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia* (1725), Haywood presents 'monstrous' politicians, characterizing them as magicians or, more specifically 'necromancers' who delude the masses by summoning spirits or demons in order to pursue hidden knowledge and wield power. Haywood's necromancers typically seek power by both acquiring occult knowledge (thereby gaining epistemic privilege) and by using their magic to deceive their victims. In Haywood's texts, the necromancers typically deceive others by making reality appear different from how it truly is, thereby disrupting and corrupting the epistemological process. That process, while important to any modern individual, was especially significant to Haywood and her Enlightenment contemporaries. In a time when individuals gained more authority and faced more and more *choices* about religion, marriage, and politics, the ability to acquire knowledge, identify truth, and use reason were increasingly important.[27] It is interesting to note that Ochihatou is monstrous but that no one can see his

[26] For more on disguise, see Castle, *Masquerade*; and Craft-Fairchild, *Masquerade and Gender*.
[27] See Introduction, note 49.

monstrosity. As I stated in chapter one, people of the eighteenth century were curious about that which was unnatural and monstrous, but, in the case of Ochihatou, that monstrosity is invisible. This invisibility, rather than triggering the pleasure of curiosity, suggests instead the anxiety and difficulty of knowing. In Haywood's work, there is a distinction between curiosity, which is the desire of knowledge for pleasure, and another kind of knowing, which is the *need* for knowledge in order to function as a private individual and as a public citizen. This distinction has typically gone unremarked in studies of Haywood's work. In fact, the blurring of this distinction has led to readings of Haywood that overlook the threats to autonomy that are generated when individuals are oppressed because of their lack of epistemic power. Barbara Benedict makes a distinction between 'legitimate and illegitimate curiosity', the former being for 'moral instruction' and the latter for 'amoral—even immoral—delight', but even though she recognises the cultural power of knowledge, when analysing Haywood she focuses more on the pleasurable transgression of curiosity than the epistemic oppression or anxiety that comes with from lack of (or confusion about) knowledge.[28] Rebecca Bullard also focuses on the pleasure of curiosity when she argues that 'the pleasure of the chase, rather than attainment of the object of curiosity, is the main attraction of a libertine secret-history such as *Memoirs of a Certain Island*'.[29] Although I do not deny that narrative pleasure comes from 'illegitimate curiosity' or the 'pleasure of the chase', or that Haywood recognises and exploits these pleasures, I do suggest that, through such 'chases' Haywood also emphasizes the difficulty of discovering truth in the face of deception or obscurity, along with the dangers of the failure to

[28] Benedict, *Curiosity,* 247 and 144.
[29] Bullard, *The Politics of Disclosure,* 178.

discover truth. In her amatory fiction, the stakes of these threats are high; in *Eovaai*, they are even higher.

Eovaai is not Haywood's first text to feature collective delusion. Twelve years before *Eovaai*, Eliza Haywood published *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia* (1725), in which a famous necromancer, Lucitario, casts a spell over all of the inhabitants of an island formerly known for its commitment to the arts and sciences and to its ruling god, Cupid.[30] Readers learn the story of this island from Cupid, himself, who serves as an omniscient narrator, detailing and lamenting these events to a lone traveller, 'a stranger,' who has recently arrived on the island. Cupid is grief-stricken and angry because the island inhabitants, instead of worshipping him as they used to, now idolize the fiend Lucitario, a famous necromancer, who has committed identity theft. He has stolen Cupid's name, his face, and his voice, and has turned the people toward wild 'desires' rather than virtuous love. Lucitario's purpose is to get rich, and he has erected two statues, 'the one of *Fortune*, the other of *Pecunia*, and in a little time, by the help of his pernicious Art, wrought so far on the Minds of the deluded Multitude, as to make it almost universally believed, that whoever would be rich, must repair to this miraculous spring' and give all their money to an Enchanted Well that appears to the multitude to be liquid gold (7-8). Lucitario then orders the islanders to bring oblations to be plunged into the well, with promises of 'Returns proportionable to the Value of the Sacrifice' (9). In their desire to contribute to this 'Enchanted Well' and get rich themselves, the islanders give up true love and the public good to

[30] Eliza Haywood, *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia. Written by a Celebrated Author of that Country. Now translated into English* (London: Printed, and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1725). Further references are to this edition.

focus only on the self-interested pursuits of seducing and deceiving each other, primarily for the sake of money.

Published in 1725, *Memoirs of a Certain Island* comments on the South Sea Bubble, a joint stock scheme that both peaked and collapsed in 1720, causing great financial loss to many investors.[31] Lucitario's 'Enchanted Well', along with the enthusiastic response of the 'deluded Multitude', satirizes this scheme and all of its participants. As Kathryn King notes in her political biography of Haywood, 'the two parts of *Memoirs* detail the moral failures that gave rise to the nation's first great financial crisis [the South Sea Bubble] and the Chancery crisis that soon followed, and together they mount a ferocious attack on the greed, corruption, *collective delusion* and social injustice that flourished in the new credit-driven and money-obsessed economic order'.[32] Haywood portrays a similar attack on the 'deluded Multitude' in *The Adventures of Eovaai*. This attention to the 'deluded Multitude' makes visible the ways in which the lives of individual subjects are inherently political, and it emphasizes the connection between the private and public spheres as well as the epistemological problems that plague them both.

In *Eovaai*, Ochihatou achieves this collective delusion by making things appear as they are not. To do this, he summons and employs entities such as the Ypres, 'infernal Spirits, who are sometimes permitted to torment the People of the Earth', and 'Aeriel Agents' (who are similar to the Ypres). These infernal spirits are under Ochihatou's power when he speaks the proper incantations (62). Through his dark magic, Ochihatou corrupts the sensory experience of his victims. When

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[31] See King, *Political Biography*, 35-37 and 39-43; Wilputte, introduction to *Eovaai*, 9-34.
[32] King, *Political Biography*, 35, my emphasis.

Eovaai first sees Ochihatou after she has lost the protection of the jewel of Aiou, the narrator says,

> She knew the Accents to be the same she had often heard from the Mouth of *Ochihatou*, when he had sollicited her for Marriage in *Ijaveo*, and who, at that time, had so disagreeable a Form, as to render all the fine things he said to her scarce to be endured. She now beheld the most mishapen of Mankind, converted into one of the most lovely; and the Uncertainty, whether she shou'd give credit to her Eyes, against the Testimony of her Ears, rendered her unable to make any Answer to the obliging Salutation he had given her. (70)

In this passage, Eovaai experiences 'uncertainty' because of the conflict between what she is hearing and what she is seeing. This account of Ochihatou's magic and its effect on the senses—especially 'the Eyes'—points to Haywood's interest in the reliability of the senses, especially sight. This interest is reflected elsewhere in her work and has been explored by Rivka Swenson, who, in an article about optics in *Anti-Pamela* (1741), writes, 'Far from being a simple tale about the superficial dangers of being taken in by appearances, the novel demonstrates Haywood's familiarity with contemporary scientific thought (*à la* Locke, Berkeley, Newton) and its popular currency'.[33]

Haywood's interest in optics is reflected in Ochihatou's methods of deception and delusion since Ochihatou affects what people see by changing the appearance of the objects themselves; the image and light of the magically disguised objects penetrate the vision of his victims. Ochihatou's deception over

[33] Rivka Swenson, 'Optics, Gender, and the Eighteenth-Century Gaze: Looking at Eliza Haywood's *Anti-Pamela*', *The Eighteenth Century*, 51 (2010): 39.

Eovaai, however, is thwarted when Halafamai, a good Genii who is the sister of Aiou, presents Eovaai with a magical 'sacred telescope' that allows her to see things as they truly are. Halafamai appears when Eovaai is alone and still aroused by the passion that nearly led to her complete seduction. Giving Eovaai the telescope, Halafamai says,

> All Delusions of the Ypres vanish before this sacred Telescope, nor can even they themselves, invisible as they are to human Sight, escape detection by the Eye that looks through this: Nay it has moreover this wondrous and peculiar Property, that tho' enveloped with the Shades of Night, the visual Ray becomes so strengthened by it, that you see all as clearly as Noon-day. (94)

In this passage, Halafamai explains the various functions of the telescope. First, she says that all delusions 'vanish' when one looks through it. Second, when looking through the telescope, one can actually see the Ypres, which are normally unobserved by the human eye. Third, the telescope increases the light surrounding the 'visual Ray' so that the rays of the images can be seen as if in daylight. When Eovaai looks through the telescope at Ochihatou and the kingdom of Hypotofa, she sees a disgusting, deformed man 'encompassed with a thousand hideous Forms' and a land that is, in truth, barren rather than fruitful and luxurious.

Significantly, in the beginning of the story, Eovaai's father's ghost advises her, 'Doubt of all you see', and his words seem relevant not only for Eovaai, but also for all members of the body politic. As I noted in my analysis of *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, natural philosophers worried about the reliability of unaided sensory perceptions and, especially, of the deceptive nature of vision. As Karen Bloom Gevirtz explains, changes in the 1620s 'included a profound suspicion of the body's

perceptions and the mind's productions, an embracing of technology such as microscopes and air pumps as a way of remedying these flaws of the self, and an interest in reconstructing epistemology and communities in which knowledge was produced and validated'.[34] For example, in the preface to *Micrographia* (1665), Robert Hooke expresses concern about the limitations of the senses, and he emphasizes the power of instruments—telescopes, microscopes, and other lenses—to rectify sensory failings. Joseph Glanvill echoes Hooke that same year, saying about telescopes, 'What success and informations we may expect from the *Advancements* of this *Instrument*, it would perhaps appear *Romantick* and *ridiculous* to say; As, no doubt, to have talk'd of the *spots* on the *Sun*, and vast *inequalities* in the *surface* of the *Moon*, and those other *Telescopical certainties*, before the *Invention* of that Glass *would* have been though *phantastick* and *absurd*'.[35] There were some, however, like physicist Henry Stubbe, who were antagonists to the Royal Society and thought that such instrumentation and experimentation undermined our God-given senses and would lead 'scientists' to believe 'legends' and 'falsehoods', just as novels and romances do.[36] Christopher Loar finds political significance in Eovaai's telescope, saying that the 'quasi-colonial conjunction of the magical and the technological condenses underexplored elements of Haywood's political thought, especially her interest in reason, constitutionalism, and gender' and that 'the gift of the telescope enlightens

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[34] Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy,* 3; see also Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985; repr. with new introduction, 2011).
[35] Glanvill qtd. in McKeon, 69-70, original itatlics.
[36] McKeon, *Origins*, 71-72.

Eovaai, making her worthy of rational citizenship'.[37] Although I recognise the telescope's potential political significance, my interest is more focused on its epistemological power. As a tool, it shows Eovaai the truth. In fact, in the entirety of *Eovaai*, it seems to be the *only* reliable method for discerning truth. One might read the telescope as a figure of science and natural philosophy, thereby concluding that science is the solution to deception and epistemological challenges. However, the fact that is it available only to Eovaai suggests that it does not represent a tool or method that can help the citizenry at large. In fact, in some ways, the telescope potentially enhances scepticism by making more visible the weakness of human perception and the extremely limited solution to Eovaai's epistemological problems.

The Problem of Testimony

Another central concern in *Eovaai* relates to testimony and the degree to which one can trust the words, claims, or opinions of someone else. Eovaai faces this problem as soon as she is with Ochihatou, who tries to convince her of the merits of libertinism and absolute sovereignty, both of which are concepts that compete with what her father has always taught her. The problem is intensified when she escapes from Ochihatou. After Halafamai gives Eovaai the magic telescope, she takes Eovaai away from the castle in a winged chariot, setting her down in a barren plain, which previously had appeared to Eovaai as a lush, green land because of Ochihatou's spell. On the barren plain, Eovaai is left in solitude and she wanders, hungry and thirsty, until she sees a castle that is magnificent even though it lacks luxurious 'geugaws' of adornment. Just before the castle gate there

[37] Loar, *Political Magic*, 184-85.

hangs a sign (in all capital letters) that says, 'Who would fly corruption, and is an enemy to vice, may sound the trumpet, and have free admittance' (97). At the sight of these words, Eovaai weeps as she remembers 'those abominable Principles she had so readily imbibed from the Mouth of Ochihatou', and she laments that the 'Task imposed on Human Kind by the Supreme Powers [is] too severe' (97). By this, she means the task of resisting temptations of vice and 'the gratification of the senses' (97). Nevertheless, Eovaai wants to be virtuous, so she sounds the trumpet, and the gates open. Upon entering, she finds a servant who begins to explain the statues and busts of 'true Patriots' that she sees around her, while also immediately engaging her in a debate about the corruption of monarchs, saying that 'it was the Business of *True Patriots* to *humble* the Pride of Crowns, not wear them' (97).[38] As a queen, Eovaai defends monarchs who seek to secure the happiness of their subjects: 'I always thought, said she, that a *good* Prince was the first of *Patriots*' (97). The old servant concedes that some monarchs have been good and begins to show her statues of those honourable few.[39] As she engages in this debate, Eovaai's problems transition from those related to perception to those related to testimony and judgment, and it is significant that the political debate is interrupted by Alhahuza, Lord of the Castle, and therefore is inconclusive.

Alhahuza politely greets Eovaai but says that he cannot offer her exile at the castle because he is not sure she will be fully protected from Ochihatou's magic. Eovaai then wonders aloud how he has been able to 'preserve himself from the

[38] Haywood's italics.
[39] See Wilputte's footnotes for speculation about the different monarchs in the 'chapel' of 'majestic figures', in Haywood, *Eovaai*, 97-100; see also King, *Political Biography*, 91.

Malice of so artful and so powerful an Enemy' as Ochihatou. He tells her that he has put the full force of his study and attention toward defensive powers:

> It would have been impossible for me, replied he, by any human Wisdom, to have escaped the many snares laid for my Life and Reputation, by that wicked Politician; but, from my youth, I have bent my whole Application to the Study of that kind of Magick which is acceptable to the celestial Beings: My early Proficiency in that Science, made me see the black Designs of Ochihatou, long before he had an opportunity of putting them in execution. (101)

Alhahuza also says that he and his friends take certain herbs to defend themselves against the corrupting forces of Ochihatou's magic, and they 'avoid the Vices and Follies of the Times' (101). In this passage, one sees further signs of the scepticism that runs throughout Haywood's text. Alhahuza claims that there is no 'human wisdom' that would have allowed him to escape Ochihatou's snares and that only good magic can help him. Of course, Eovaai also once benefitted from protective, good magic before she lost the amulet, and her loss of that protection suggests that it is somewhat unstable. The need for magic seems understandable, considering Ochihatou's power, and Alhahuza's words echo those of Halafamai when she tells Eovaai she should keep the magic telescope even after she has seen the truth about Ochihatou:

> Things in this world are so little what they appear, said she, that you will have sufficient Occasion to make use of it, with People of all Professions and Degrees: *By this alone* you can be able to distinguish the Hypocrite from the Saint, the Betrayer of his Country from the Patriot, the Fool from the Politician, the Libertine from the Priest, the

> Coward from the Brave, or the Foe from the pretended Friend. *By this alone* you can be preserv'd from falling the Victim of Deceit, which waits in every Shape, and every State, to lure the Unwary to Perdition. (95)[40]

Both Halafamai and Alhahuza say that the only defence against deceit is good magic. But if the reader steps outside of the novel for a moment to consider the satirical implications for herself as a political subject, she might wonder what this passage implies about how to defend oneself against a 'Screenmaster General' like Ochihatou (or Walpole), or, for that matter, a corrupt and deceptive monarch. Both Halafamai and Alhahuza suggest that human wisdom is entirely insufficient for such a defence, and Eovaai's personal experience seems to suggest the same—that deception and delusion are inevitable and unpreventable. What is particularly striking about the telescope, as Halafamai describes it, is that it not only prevents deception of the senses; it also prevents against deception of the mind. It allows one to distinguish between truth and falsehood of testimony. However, what it cannot do is make judgments. Regardless of whether or not one has accurate information or knows the honesty of someone's testimony, even then, judgment can be difficult. A case in point is Eovaai's debate with the old servant about the merits of monarchy. Even without deception, such debates are difficult to resolve.

Haywood makes a useful distinction between perception, knowledge, and judgment in Book 17 of *The Female Spectator*, in which she also writes about Telescopes and 'glasses'. The Female Spectator discusses the invention of such lenses, along with the gratitude we should have towards Galileo, Gassendi, Newton, Descartes, Hooke, and others. She says that the telescope 'enables us, while on

[40] My italics.

Earth to tread the starry regions, to become, as it were, Inhabitants of the blue Expanse, and travel through an Infinity of Worlds, till then, unknown, unguessed at'.[41] She makes these comments during a conversation about the possibilities of life on other worlds, while on a group outing to look at the moon. In this context, the telescope shows them things 'unknown, unguessed at', but what they see raises questions that cannot be answered—questions that require more than the facts and sensory perceptions that the lenses can offer them. These are questions (such as, Would God shine light on planets that do not have other living creatures?) that, to be answered, require judgment. The Female Spectator highlights this distinction when the outing is cut short because of a storm that scares the ladies. She makes the observation that even though they are safe and dry in the observational turret, they feel as if they are in more danger because they can see more of the storm. She concludes, 'So greatly do the Senses sometimes prevail over the Judgment'.[42] With this last statement, the Female Spectator notes that even when sensory perceptions are accurate, good reasoning and judgment do not often derive from them, and Haywood makes it clear that judgment is something other than mere sensory perception.

Throughout her adventures, Eovaai is a faced with competing arguments and testimony, and she must determine which of them is right, which one carries the most authority. She has her father's precepts, she has Ochihatou's libertine arguments, she has the servant's arguments against monarchy, and she has

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[41] Eliza Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, in *Selected Works of Eliza Haywood*, ed. Kathryn R. King and Alexander Pettit (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001), *FS*17, II.3, 169. All further citations will be from this multivolume edition and will include the issue or 'book' number, the set number, the volume number, and the page number.

[42] Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *FS*19, II.3, 173.

Alhahuza's call for forceful revolution. The problems she experiences of determining whom to trust, whom to believe, and which system to follow is one inherent to the public sphere. As Benjamin McMyler notes, testimony is a very social form of knowledge-making; it requires both belief in what someone is telling us, along with a belief 'in' the person doing the telling.[43] In order to rule, Eovaai must decide what to believe and whom to believe in. Even with the telescope, her task is difficult. Without it, the task is nearly impossible.

The novel's polyphonic framework invites (or coerces) the reader into a position similar to Eovaai's, and the problem of testimony for the reader is significant. *Eovaai* begins with a preface from a fictional Translator who gives an account of the narrative, explaining that the 'history' he is translating is a found text from a civilization and language that existed before Adam, and as he gives the account, he focuses heavily on questions of testimony, knowledge, and credulity, making a pre-emptive effort to defend against readers' likely scepticism about the story. The Translator claims that the history has been translated from the 'Language of Nature' to Chinese, and now, he, a Chinese man living in London, is translating it into English. As part of the fiction, footnotes appear on almost every page of the text, and in these notes the reader receives various types of commentary, including factual and editorial notes from the Translator, references to interpretive disputes within the 'Cabal' (the group of 70 philosophers who originally translated the narrative into Chinese), attitudes of the rather misogynist Commentator who annotated the Chinese edition, references to additional historical texts about the same figures and events, and an occasional piece of wisdom that the Translator has gleaned from 'a learned and religious Author' (58).

[43] McMyler, *Testimony*, 7.

In short, the narrative is presented as being twice removed from an original language that no longer exists and about which there is much dispute regarding meaning. The multiple voices in the text speak over each other and serve, paradoxically, both to inform and confuse the reader. Earla Wilputte argues that 'the notes become argumentative, contradictory, and lacking in authority'.[44] Although I agree that the notes are contradictory and argumentative, I would revise her assessment to suggest that the voices can be better described as *competing* in authority rather than 'lacking' in authority. Consequently, instead of merely dismissing the voices, the reader must weigh and evaluate them. In this way, the footnotes contribute to the formation of the novel reader and the process of interpretation that such reading requires, and they also mirror the competing political voices faced by Eovaai or any individual, whether sovereign or subject.

An example of the competing testimonies for readers can be found by juxtaposing the notes from the Translator with the comments of the misogynist Commentator. Of all of the voices, the most scathing critiques of Eovaai, and of women in general, come from the Commentator (as they are translated, paraphrased, and editorialized by the Translator). When early in the story Eovaai pulls the amulet jewel out of its case to inspect the engraved words, the Translator includes this footnote:

> The Commentator will needs have it, that these Words imply a Vanity, or kind of Self-sufficiency in Eovaai; and infers from thence, that it's an Error to trust Women with too much Learning; as the Brain in that Sex being of a very delicate Texture, renders them, for the most part, incapable of making solid Reflections, or comparing

[44] Wilputte, introduction to *Eovaai*, 28.

> the little they can possibly arrive at the knowledge of, with the Infinity of what is beyond their reach. But as an old Man, and as rigid a Philosopher as he was, I am apt to think, he wou'd have spared this Part of his Adnimadversions had he been honour'd with the Acquaintance of some *European* Ladies. (57)

In this note, which raises issues of gender, knowledge, and autonomy, the Translator both paraphrases and challenges the Commentator's notes to the text. The juxtaposition of the two attitudes—along with the potential irony of the last sentence that might, in effect, imply actual accord with the mindset of the Commentator—leaves the reader without a finalizing, interpretive voice on which to rely. The conflict between these voices continues later in the text when Eovaai is persuaded by Ochihatou to abandon the precepts taught by her father in favour of vanity and libertinism. In this instance, the Translator again paraphrases the Commentator, saying that the relevant passage from the text 'gives the Commentator an Opportunity of exerting his usual Severity: He makes a long Dissertation, to prove Vanity is so much a part of Woman, that tho' Precepts of Education may prevent its Appearance for a long time, it will sooner or later burst into a Blaze; and often, on the most trifling Encouragement' (73). This time, however, the Translator makes no challenge to the Commentator's claims. He merely follows this first note with an additional footnote admitting that the passage is fairly damning, and that he might have excluded it if such an omission would not deem him 'unfair'. With this, the Translator tries to assert himself as a fair-minded source and, therefore, a credible authority, but he also leaves the judgment of the Commentator unchallenged. Marta Kvande has argued that the Translator effectively presents himself as an impartial and, therefore, authoritative

voice, but I would argue that the instability of the text itself overwhelms the chance for his voice to finalize the reader's interpretation.[45] Therefore, the space of interpretive possibility invites the *reader* be a final judge. Wilputte has noted this position of the reader, stating that the structure of the novel 'makes the reader suspicious of the Authorities' and that '[w]ithout any final authority figure to interpret the events and editorial comments for her, the reader is left to form her own opinions rather than accept the representations offered by these men, authors, and politicians'.[46] She says that, in fact, 'it is the reader, the final voyeur, who possesses the real power, being in a position to view all of the action'.[47] Although I agree that Haywood's novel places interpretive authority with the reader, I would argue that Wilputte's conclusion overstates the power of the reader and understates the burden and anxiety that is placed upon her. Essentially, the text is performing for the reader the same kind of heteroglossia experienced by Eovaai. To say that the reader is the 'final voyeur who possesses the real power' neglects the crisis of judgment that creates anxiety for both Eovaai and the reader.

Sarah Tindal Kareem's *Eighteenth-Century Fiction and the Reinvention of Wonder* explores 'the interplay between credulity and skepticism' in eighteenth-century fiction, but she, too, gives little attention to the anxiety created by this 'interplay'; instead, she focuses on the 'cognitive uncertainty' (or 'indeterminacy') that creates a pleasurable aesthetic that eventually becomes the 'willing suspension of disbelief' of 'fictionality'.[48] She does, at one point, acknowledge that

[45] Kvande, 'Outside Narrators', 638.
[46] Wilputte, introduction to Eovaai, 28.
[47] Ibid., 32.
[48] Kareem, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 3, 7, and 14.

indeterminacy can create anxiety, but for Kareem the significance of that anxiety seems to be only in its ancestry to a more developed aesthetic:

> The wonder discussed here [in a chapter on Defoe and Hume] has a degree of epistemological anxiety because of the uncertainty regarding fiction's protocols, and yet each work models ways in which this epistemological anxiety can be recuperated as aesthetic pleasure, creating the basis for fiction as an aesthetic mode ground in the experience of 'as if ness'.[49]

I agree that 'epistemological anxiety' contributes to the development of a novelistic aesthetic, and in this chapter (and in the thesis as a whole) I argue that Haywood (who is not studied by Kareem) contributes significantly to that aesthetic. However, that epistemological anxiety does more than evolve into the aesthetic pleasure of the 'willing suspension of disbelief'; rather, it also puts readers in the position of having to make judgments if they are to interpret meaning in the text. In other words, readers cannot stay in a willed 'suspension' of judgment if they are to make meaning. In fact, it is quite important that suspension of *disbelief* and suspension of *judgment* not be conflated. Very often when reading fiction, even when we wilfully suspend disbelief, thereby immersing ourselves in the text, we do not suspend judgment, which is often actively engaged in interpretation. Judgment might be temporarily suspended at given moments, but it must be engaged if we are to make meaning from the text. In Kareem's attention to the suspension of disbelief, she neglects the anxiety that readers experience from an *inability* to judge even when they must do so. Kareem suggests that uncertainty creates anxiety in philosophy but that it creates pleasure in fiction. I would suggest,

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[49] Ibid., 77.

however, that in genre-blending work like Haywood's, the two are not always mutually exclusive. Although there is certainly pleasure related to the heteroglossia in *Eovaai*, it also reflects the anxiety present in the epistemological concerns of the early eighteenth century, and these concerns are made evident in the mock-scholarly framework of the narrative.

Much of the unsettling testimony of *Eovaai* occurs in the footnotes. Anthony Grafton, in his book, *The Footnote: A Curious History*, writes about how the footnote, as it was used in texts by Enlightenment authors (especially those writing about history and philosophy), captured the difficulty of determining truth, particularly in relationship to testimony and knowledge. He says,

> All authors who addressed controversial questions in the years around 1700 knew that they were entering minefields: footnotes naturally appealed to many of those who discussed historical and philological topics as the best way to protect themselves against hidden and overt attack. But other social and cultural conditions also helped to make intellectuals self-conscious about the problems of authority in writing about the past . . . . Questions of authority and evidence posed themselves on every side. Whose descriptions of the behaviour of a barometer or comet, a new substance or a new island, deserved belief? What made one account authoritative and another implausible? Any intellectual of the late seventeenth century necessarily confronted these and other questions of intellectual

> authority—and had to devise protocols for providing assurances that could quell the doubts of skeptical readers.[50]

The Translator in *Eovaai*, in his Preface and throughout the text, demonstrates the same kind of self-conscious authority that Grafton describes, and the polyphonic footnotes, for Haywood's readers, raise the same questions of authority that Grafton poses in the passage above. By making this observation, I aim to connect *Eovaai* to the Enlightenment genres, especially history, from which it borrows its apparatus. To do so usefully complicates the genre of *Eovaai* even further by reading it as a mock-history. Haywood's interest in the epistemology of history is also supported Rivka Swenson's essay about Haywood's 'secret history' of Mary, Queen of Scots, a text that Swenson claims is 'partly an epistemological critique of [the] historical discourse it deconstructs'.[51]

Of course, historical and philosophical texts were not the only ones with footnotes. In fact, Grafton says that footnotes 'spread rapidly' among eighteenth-century historiographers in part because they were already 'trendy in fiction'.[52] Alexander Pope's *Dunciad Variorum* (1729) is full of footnotes, and Henry Fielding's *Tragedy of Tragedies* (1731), later adapted in 1733 by Eliza Haywood and William Hatchett into the *Opera of Operas*, contains margin notes throughout the script of the play. French writer, Montesquieu, supplements his epistolary *Persian Letters* with footnotes, but they are not nearly as numerous, extensive, or argumentative as Pope's, Fielding's, or Haywood's. In fact, Suzan Last argues that

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[50] Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 204-05.
[51] Rivka Swenson, 'History', in *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in Britain, 1660-1789*, ed. Catherine Ingrassia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 136.
[52] Grafton, *The Footnote*, 121.

'Haywood's sophisticated metafictional use of [footnotes] at least matches and perhaps exceeds the skills of her rivals, providing actual literary criticism in a fictionalized form rather than sinking to the level of petulant name-calling and personal attacks'.[53] I would extend Last's claim to conclude that not only do Haywood's footnotes provide literary criticism, but also they interrogate the nature of scholarly writing as well.

One particular historian and philosopher that has been overlooked in terms of potential influence on Haywood is Pierre Bayle (1647-1706). Bayle was born in France to a Protestant family. After a conversion to Catholicism and then a re-conversion back to Protestantism, he eventually went to Holland, where he served as a lecturer and pursued his scholarship in Rotterdam. In 1697, he published his *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (which was really a biographical dictionary, or encyclopaedia), and he expanded it in 1702.[54] The *Dictionary*, a bestseller, was first published in English in 1710 (in four volumes) and then published again between 1734-1737 (in 10 volumes). Pierre Bayle was known for his extreme scepticism, and this scepticism threads throughout the *Dictionary*'s footnotes, which are often more lengthy than the entries themselves, and which explore and attack various theories and stories from every possible angle and direction. For example, in his entry on the biblical David, Bayle tells the story of David and summarizes the scholarly commentary about that story. In the footnotes, however, he identifies potential errors and points of contradiction not only among biblical scholars, but

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[53] Last, 'The Cabal', 44.

[54] Richard H. Popkin, introduction to *Historical and Critical Dictionary: Selections* by Pierre Bayle, trans. Richard H. Popkin (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1991), viii-xxxvi.

also within the scripture, itself.[55] Grafton says, 'Bayle arrived at his new method of citation after engaging in sustained reflection and debate. Footnotes mattered to him—mattered enough not only to be compiled with endless energy and laced with sardonic humor, but also to be the object of serious epistemological effort'.[56] However, despite Bayle's 'profound exercise in truth-seeking', many readers 'have seen Bayle as the sworn enemy of the notion that history could ever recover solid facts—and have interpreted the swarming irreverencies of his footnotes as a massive effort to subvert all certainties'.[57] In her study on scepticism, Eve Tavor Bannet notes that the eighteenth-century novel shared structures and narrative strategies with sceptical non-fiction histories like Bayle's and like Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*. Although Haywood's references to Mandeville have been noted, the potential influence of Bayle has gone unremarked.[58]

Haywood was familiar with Bayle's *Dictionary*, which was republished in the few years just before *Eovaai*. In Book 15 of *The Female Spectator* (1744-46), as the periodical's eidolon recommends valuable reading for ladies, she refers to Bayle's *Dictionary*, calling it a 'Library in itself', and saying, 'Those who read only this cannot be call'd Ignorant', and she makes a similar reference in *The Invisible Spy*.[59] Haywood's knowledge of Bayle's *Dictionary*, combined with the mock-historical framework of *Eovaai*, suggests that that her footnotes might have a more varied ancestry than previously recognised. Footnotes as a form—or even a

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[55] Pierre Bayle, *Historical and Critical Dictionary: Selections* by Pierre Bayle, trans. Richard H. Popkin (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1991), 45-63.
[56] Grafton, *The Footnote*, 211.
[57] Ibid., 199 and 196.
[58] See Haywood, *Eovaai*, 109, for the Mandeville allusion: 'Thus every Individual, like the industrious Bee, while he acted for his own Interest, acted no less for that of the Publick . . .'.
[59] Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *FS*15, II.3, 98-99; Haywood, *Invisible Spy*, 343.

genre—are connected to scholarship, history, and questions about reliability of evidence. As a result, even before Haywood's readers actually read her narrative, the very presence of the notes (along with the Translator's preface) likely would have increased readers' scepticism and wariness about the nature of authority in the text.

Aurora Wolfgang has analysed similar apparatus in Francoise de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Peruvienne* (1747).[60] Published later than Haywood's *Eovaai*, Graffigny's fictional work is clearly not an influence on Haywood's *Eovaai*, but Wolfgang's analysis of the scholarly framework in Graffigny's *Lettres* highlights elements of Haywood's work that have not been sufficiently examined. Wolfgang writes,

> By inscribing the genre of scholarly annotation into her fiction, the author links her work to a specifically male tradition of erudition . . . . The prominence of Graffigny's textual references strongly suggests that the author wished to situate her novel within a tradition of literature and philosophical thinking as well as within a tradition of amorous discourse.[61]

Like Graffigny's *Lettres*, *Eovaai* echoes a 'male tradition of erudition', one that is concerned with reliability of testimony and the nature of authority that often manifests in the type of scholarly apparatus used in *Eovaai*. Haywood's use of this apparatus should lead us to 'situate' Haywood's text within the traditions of historical and philosophical scholarly discourse. The fact that *Eovaai* is a satire,

[60] Wolfgang, 'Intertextual Conversations', 20.
[61] Ibid., 21.

suggests that Haywood is casting a mocking glance at the strategies that scholars use for validating the true relation of testimony and events.

The Problem of Partiality

Despite the nearly inescapable problems of deceived senses and unreliable testimony, Haywood does not excuse Ochihatou's victims. In fact, she often seems to place blame squarely on their shoulders. For example, shortly after Eovaai's conversation with Alhahuza, she is allowed to be part of the audience at 'The Harangue of Alhahuza to the Populace of Hypotofa'—a speech in which Alhahuza encourages a crowd of Hypotofan citizens to forcefully rebel against Ochihatou. But before he provokes action, he chastises the citizens for their own failings:

> Examine yourselves. – Look back on your past Conduct, and attone for it by the future. –Your Oppressors laugh at your Misery, and when you ask redress, are not ashamed to tell you, that *if you are undone it is by your own Act and Deed*; they tell ye Truth, Oh *Hypotofans*! For which of you has not, for a shew of private Advantage, consented to give up Publick-Good? – Which of you has not been a Factor for his own Slavery, and that of his Posterity? – Which of you has not been corrupted by the Gold of *Ochihatou*? (104)[62]

To this passage, the Translator adds a footnote, saying, 'The Commentator observes from this, that the Hypotofans must have been naturally a mean-spirited People, to brook so bare-faced and impudent an Insult, as this mention'd by the Patriot'. It is worth noting, however, that the insult is not only *mentioned* by the

[62] Haywood's italics.

Patriot (Alhahuza), but it is *affirmed* by him. He accuses his people of pursuing their own interests at the expense of the public good. It seems strange, however, that this 'insult' comes so closely on the heels of Alhahuza's claim that no human wisdom could defend against Ochihatou and the oppressors. If delusion is inevitable, how can the victims of such deception be blamed? The insult is similar to those that Cupid levels at the inhabitants of The Certain Island Adjacent to Utopia who are also deluded by a necromancer.

Haywood's attack on collective delusion (along with Alhahuza's attack on the citizens of Hypotofa) might seem to impose an unfair double bind—deeming individuals unable to discern truth and resist deception, yet also suggesting they are responsible for doing so. By creating this double bind, Haywood perseverates on the crisis of judgment faced by the modern individual. Specifically, Haywood shines a light on the Cartesian elephant still lurking in the room of Enlightenment—that elephant being the role that deception plays in any epistemological process. In fact, Haywood's necromancers, in many ways, perform the role of the Cartesian Evil Genius or Evil Demon who is, as Descartes says, 'as clever and deceitful as he is powerful, who has directed his entire effort to misleading me'.[63] This is why Descartes (as I noted in chapter one) argues that one must be hesitant to move from perception to belief and that, when we err, the fault is our own. Haywood's texts remind her readers that they are surrounded by deceptive monsters—political and otherwise—and, as such, they must increase their defences against such deception, lest they, themselves, become monstrous.

Alhahuza, then, along with Haywood, is addressing two different kinds of deception—one originating from outside the self, and the other originating from

[63] Descartes, *Discourse and Meditations,* 62.

within—both of which can join together, leading to the path of ruin. In effect, then, Ochihatou's deception is all the more effective because of the citizens' self-deception that stems from their self-interest or 'partiality'. The significance of partiality—and its opposite, impartiality—are made clear when Alhahuza recommends that Eovaai seek refuge from Ochihatou in a republic called Oozoff, a name which, according to the Translator, 'engag'd the Cabal in a Dispute, which took up five Moons. Some would have it *Wisdom*, but the Majority were of the opinion that *Impartiality* came nearer the Meaning' (108). Alhahuza says that, 'no wicked Magick was ever of any force against it' (108). This comment, when contrasted with his earlier statement about the insufficiency of human wisdom, suggests that, even more than wisdom, impartiality is the greatest defence against deceptive political influence and, conversely, that self-interest leaves one vulnerable to deception and ruin. With this claim, I counter Ros Ballaster's assertion that the impartiality of Oozoff is bad. As she puts it, 'Oozoff's impartiality and wisdom . . . reduce it to a nation so reliant on foreign trade that it cannot, or will not, exercise political or public influence on other states'.[64]

Alhahuza suggests that without impartiality, individuals engage in selfish, wishful thinking, and the events of *Eovaai* suggest the same. And when the narrator comments on the corruption of Eovaai's reason, he says that 'there requires but few Arguments to convince us of what we wish' (77). Falling prey to this corruption leads to what is often called 'false consciousness'. As Kathryn King says, 'The seduction of Eovaai operates at many layers of implication: the seduction of a woman, of a monarch, and an entire people—a country brought, or nearly brought, to 'ruin' by way of a false consciousness induced by corrupt

[64] Ballaster, 'Gender of Opposition', 161.

ministers and at the highest level, by Walpole'.[65] King grounds her discussion of 'false consciousness' in the work of J. G. A. Pocock, whose discussion of 'false consciousness' is, to a large degree, grounded in themes from *Cato's Letters* (1720-1723) by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Specifically, Pocock considers 'Trenchard and Gordon's indictments of the world of corruption and unreality' in comparison to the indictments one finds in Hobbes. Pocock states that 'where false consciousness for Hobbes was productive of rebellion, in the republican tradition it issues in corruption. Men who live by fantasies are manipulated by other men who rule through them'.[66] Trenchard and Gordon, who published *Cato's Letters* between 1720-1723, make it clear that self-interest or 'self-love' is a common cause of such fantasies that lead to false consciousness or delusion. In letter number six, for example, they say, 'No experience or sufferings can cure the world of its credulity. . . . Self-love beguiles men into false hopes, and they will venture to incur a hundred probable evils, to catch one possible good; nay, they run frequently into distracting pains and expences, to gain advantages which are purely imaginary, and utterly impossible'.[67] And in letter number thirty they say, 'Of all the passions which belong to human nature, self-love is the strongest, and the root of all the rest; or, rather, all the different passions are only several names for the several operations of self-love'.[68] They also admit, however, that such self interest would not be so problematic without external threats, claiming that 'the

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[65] King, *Political Biography*, 83-84

[66] J. G. A. Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Public Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975; repr. with new afterward, 2003), 474 and 475.

[67] John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's Letters: or, Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and other Important Subjects*, ed. Ronald Hamowy (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1995), I.6.55. Further references will be to this edition and will include volume, letter, and page numbers.

[68] Ibid., I.31.222.

people would constantly be in the interests of truth and liberty, were it not for external delusion and external force'.[69] The false consciousness of the Hypotofans is the result of both the external delusion by Ochihatou and the self-deceptive partiality of the citizens. Thus, Alhahuza affirms that 'it is by [their] own act and deed' that they are 'undone' while, at the same time, affirming that no human wisdom can defend against such corruption.[70] With explicit consideration of partiality and self-deception, Haywood demonstrates that she is not only sceptical about sensory perception and testimony, but also that she is sceptical about one's ability to reason for the benefit of the public good. These doubts cast suspicion on the entire project of the social contract. Essentially, Haywood is questioning all systems of government—not just one party or another—and none of them truly survive her scepticism. How can they, when none of the systems eradicate the problems of perception, testimony, and partiality that threaten both monarchies and republics? Haywood suggests, then, that the individual's commitment to impartiality and a sceptical position is the only defence against deception from self or other, thus echoing Pierre Bayle who claimed that, in his work, he attempted to 'compare the arguments for and against something, with all the impartiality of a faithful reporter' and Descartes who claims he 'could not indulge in too much distrust'.[71]

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[69] Ibid., I.22.156.
[70] This 'self-love' versus the public good reflects early amatory themes of 'desire versus duty' as Prescott discusses these themes in 'The Debt to Pleasure', 431.
[71] Bayle qtd. in Grafton, *The Footnote*, 200; Descartes, *Discourse and Meditations*, 62.

Implications for Autonomy and Consent

A passage from *The Female Spectator* is particularly indicative of the implications of collective delusion for the issues of autonomy and consent. In Book 19 of that publication, the Female Spectator includes a letter depicting a travel tale about an island called Topsy-Turvy. This island, we are told, is 'governed by its own Laws' but 'is an Appendix to a great Monarch on the Continent', who 'flatters [his subjects] with a Shew of Liberty' but whom, if opposed, would 'come down with Fire and Sword, and lay the whole Country to waste'.[72] Supposedly, in the past, the islanders would rise up 'against rulers who 'dar'd to exceed the Bounds a good Magistrate ought to observe', but that in recent times, a new Vice-Roy, Hiamack, has taken over the island and 'infatuated' its people by inviting them all to a banquet at which he serves magic food.[73] We are told that those who eat at the banquet—along with their descendants—'should be deprived of all Power of judging for themselves; of distinguishing between what is in their Interest, and what is not; and in fine, from that Time forward become dead to all Sense of what they were, or what they ought to be'.[74]

When Haywood says that individuals who are deprived of the power of judgment 'become dead to all Sense of what they were, or what they ought to be', she raises questions about subjective agency and the problem of consent within the body politic of a liberal government. If the people are 'dead', how can they serve their role in a republic or even in a constitutional monarchy? In short, they can't. They become a 'deluded Multitude' under the power of their master and, consequently, they become as monstrous and inhuman as the necromancer who

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[72] Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *FS*19, II.3, 222
[73] Ibid., *FS*19, II:3, 227.
[74] Ibid., *FS*19, II:3, 228.

deludes them. The citizens of Hypotofa have been stripped of (or have forfeited) their humanity in that they are unable to reason effectively. Without reasoning minds, they cannot serve as participatory, consenting subjects. In his 'harangue', Alhahuza says that the people of Hypotofa have '*consented* to give up Publick-Good' for the sake of private Advantage', but his accusation raises a question about whether or not such consent truly can be offered by those who are deluded (104).[75]

These problems of autonomy and consent in the face of deception and epistemological oppression have roots in amatory fiction by Haywood and other writers. It is a common trope, of course, for desire to cloud the reason of lovers in amatory fiction. In Aphra Behn's *The History of the Nun; or, The Fair Vow-Breaker* (1689), Isabella even wonders if her passion is the result of magic. About her lover's effects on her, she says, '[A]t first, I thought the Youth had some Magick Art, to make one faint and tremble at his touches', and later in the text love is compared to 'some monstrous Witchcraft'.[76] One finds similar ideas in Manley's *New Atalantis* when the Duchess's 'own desires helped [the Count's] deceit'.[77] Haywood, in her amatory fiction, writes about how love can debilitate powers of deliberation and reason and about how epistemic privilege (or oppression) can affect consent. Her novella *Fantomina*, for example, not only raises questions about consent in the rape scene at the beginning of the story, but it also raises questions about the ways in which autonomy and consent are threatened by the deception imposed by both

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[75] My italics.
[76] Aphra Behn, *The History of the Nun; or The Fair Vow Breaker* (Printed for A. Baskerville at the Bible, the Corner of Essex-Street, against St. Clement's Church, 1689), 39 and 49. For an excellent analysis of epistemology in *The History of the Nun*, see Rashmi Sahni, 'Almost Certain: The Problem of Knowledge in Aphra Behn's *History of the Nun'*, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 28.2 (2015): 213-38.
[77] Manley, *The New Atalantis*, 21.

Fantomina and Beauplaisir. In fact, Beauplaisir is relieved of all contractual responsibility for his child because Fantomina's mother concludes that because Fantomina disguised herself whenever they met, he did not knowingly have sex with her daughter.

John Kramnick takes up the problem of consent as an element of *Love in Excess* (1719) and of *Fantomina* (1725). His concern is the distinction between explicit consent and tacit consent, the latter of which is often the kind given by subjects of a government. Kramnick considers tacit consent as it relates to 'theory of mind'—the process of interpreting internal states of mind from observing external actions and statements. Kramnick states that 'in order to know whether someone has consented, one must understand what someone is thinking, and in order [to] get a sense of what someone is thinking, one needs to examine closely what someone is doing'.[78] Interestingly, although Haywood explores what we would now call 'theory of mind' in many of her texts (along with its connections to knowledge and judgment, especially in private matters), inferences about cognitive states function differently in *Eovaai* than in most of her other fiction. Essentially, in *Eovaai*, the entire process of 'theory of mind' is corrupted by Ochihatou. Everyone misinterprets his intentions and the meaning of his actions because of the spells he casts. Haywood is certainly interested in the intersection of individual 'theory of mind' and deceit (as I will discuss in detail in chapter four), but in *Eovaai*, Haywood seems more interested in large scale, collective delusion and how it prohibits access to political knowledge and one's own power of judgment. When everyone is deceived, when they are 'dead' to themselves and

[78] Jonathan Kramnick, *Actions and Objects from Hobbes to Richardson* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 169.

their senses, their minds are not their own, so 'theory of mind' is corrupted, as is the process of consent—tacit or otherwise. Even as, in *Eovaai*, Haywood brings the power of magic and epistemological privilege into the political context, certain amatory tropes remain. Ochihatou is not the only deceptive one; there is also the story of Atamadoul, who tricks Ochihatou (more than once) into having sex with her by disguising herself (a common trick one also sees in works like Behn's *Love Letters* and Manley's *New Atalantis*). As Kathryn King says, 'Eovaai continues the analysis of power-seeking that Haywood began in the seduction fictions of the twenties' (83). She also notes that 'Ochihatou hopes to wrest "full consent"' from Eovaai[79]; however, such a desire seems paradoxical. To what degree can one 'wrest' full consent? Haywood foregrounds that question throughout *Eovaai* as it relates to both sexual and political consent.

Christopher Loar recognises Haywood's concern for autonomy in *Eovaai*, and he argues that the purpose of Eovaai's experiences is to help her become 'autonomous' and 'mature'. He notes that, at the beginning of the narrative, Eovaai is neither of these things because, though she has been educated, her education is based merely on precepts presented by her 'father's command'.[80] Loar suggests that her 'extralegal' period in Hypotofa is 'necessary for her eventual return to a new constitutional order', and that 'Eovaai's character, in order to become autonomous and not merely obedient, must first be shaped by *outside forces*'.[81] Loar, however, does not sufficiently consider the difficulty of achieving the autonomy that he says Eovaai must gain, and he does not consider the ways in which 'outside forces' can threaten autonomy as often (perhaps more often) than

[79] King, *Political Biography*, 83.
[80] Loar, *Political Magic*, 191.
[81] Ibid., 194 and 197, my italics.

they foster it. Clearly, some of those outside forces seek to delude Eovaai in a way that entirely strips her of her autonomy. Marilyn Friedman says that 'autonomy is self-determination by an individual self, a person'.[82] But autonomy cannot occur in conditions of coercion and deception. As Friedman puts it, 'For self-reflection to be effective in practice, it must not be impeded by interfering conditions. Coercion, deception, and manipulation by others are the paradigm examples of conditions that interfere with the practical effectiveness of someone's self-reflection'.[83] These interfering conditions are all at work in *Eovaai*. Ochihatou's magic strips Eovaai of her ability to self-reflect and function autonomously, and it also strips the residents of Hypotofa, including the king, of autonomy. Without such autonomy, there can be no consent, and the social contract is destabilized if not totally undone.

For Eovaai, the telescope mitigates Ochihatou's external influences. Loar says that 'the sacred telescope . . . teaches Eovaai to observe and perceive correctly for herself, not commanding but rather imparting judgment, thus offering a fantasy of noncoercive education producing self-commanding female citizens', and he calls her self-command a 'technology-enhanced rationality'.[84] I would use different terms, however. It is not so much Eovaai's rationality that has been enhanced. The telescope does not enhance her actual powers of reasoning; rather, it corrects her perceptions, allowing her to see and know reality when it differs from appearances. Once those perceptions are corrected, however, she must still use her existing rational powers to decide what to believe and how to act, and the

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[82] Marilyn Friedman, *Autonomy, Gender, Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3-4.
[83] Ibid., 5.
[84] Loar, *Political Magic*, 197.

telescope is not much help to her with such decisions, as is evident from her confusion after her visit with Alhahuza. Therefore, one might say that the telescope does not, as Loar says, 'impart judgment', but rather it imparts *knowledge*. These distinctions might seem like minor semantic points, but they are not. By failing to make the distinction, Loar neglects the degree to which Haywood demonstrates the difficulty of effective self-reflection and proper judgment, and he short-circuits judgment in one of the ways that Vivasvan Soni identifies.[85] The telescope reveals the truth about Ochihatou, and the discovery of truth behind deception *is* necessary for self-determination or 'self-command' as Loar terms it, but it certainly is not sufficient. Eovaai must also find her way through coercion, manipulation, and other negative outside forces (including physical force, as one sees when Ochihatou abducts her for a second time). In addition, Eovaai must figure out how to make good judgments about all of the testimony she hears, from her father's precepts of constitutional monarchy, to Ochihatou's libertinism, and to Alhahuza's republicanism. Eovaai, like the readers of her story, must struggle to overcome the cacophony of voices in order to determine the location of true authority and right judgment.

Haywood also implies another threat to autonomy: the instability of the self. Friedman speaks at length about the fact that for autonomy to be present, there needs to be a self,[86] but as Karen Bloom Gevirtz notes, the concept of the fixed self was still developing in the minds of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century fiction writers. Gevirtz argues, for example, that while Aphra Behn's narratives do not feature fixed selves, readers begin to find more stability

[85] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 368-69.
[86] Friedman, *Autonomy*, 30-47.

of self in the writings in the 1720s.[87] In the 1736 text of *Eovaai*, however, one still finds significant evidence that selves are not always fixed and stable, and, therefore, neither are kingdoms.

Although Eovaai is understandably duped by a powerful magician—along with the king and his other subjects—one cannot say that, by the conclusion of the novel, Eovaai has reached the 'maturity' that Loar says she is meant to achieve. Although she does break Ochihatou's magic wand (a move with phallic symbolism), she is ultimately rescued by Adelhu and joined with him by Fate. She does not really reach a conclusive judgment about government through a process of self-reflection. Rather she accepts what fate hands her.[88]

Earla Wilputte claims that *Eovaai* has a 'blatantly artificial' happy ending saying that 'such a conclusion is unrealistic and Haywood knows that; however, [Haywood] also feels that it is possible to make it real by challenging the authorities and their empty rhetoric'.[89] I would argue, however, that the instability of individuals and politics in the text—the 'multiguity' of the text, to use Eve Tavor Bannet's term—precludes such an interpretation. Bannet says that the sceptic's 'method is basically pyrrhonic, polyphonic: he creates structures, situations, characters or arguments in which customary ideas show up each others' limitations, invalidate each other, knock each other out. The great effort of the sceptic is to prevent the reader from resting in any smug certainty. Not ambiguity,

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[87] Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 13.
[88] With this claim I counter Ros Ballaster's claim that Eovaai 'acquires wisdom through her trials and learns reason and judgment' and that her 'improvements make her fit to govern both the state and the self'. Ballaster, *Satire and Embodiment*, 655.
[89] Wilputte, introduction to *Eovaai*, 34 and 11.

but the openness of multiguity is the sceptic's subtlest ally'.[90] Bannet's description is a fitting one for Haywood's novel in which truth is difficult if not impossible to determine, multiple voices compete for authority, and the merits and flaws of republicanism and constitutional monarchy are juxtaposed in debates that have no clear winner. The questionable status of the ending also seems confirmed by the title page of the publication, which says the text is '[i]nterspersed with a great Number of remarkable Occurrences, which happened, and *may again happen*, to several Empires, Kingdoms, Republicks, and particular Great Men' (41).[91] At the beginning of the narrative, the kingdom of Ijaveo is stable, but it very quickly descends into civil war. Almost as quickly, Eovaai becomes a libertine who believes in the 'arbitrary sway' of kings. The title page and the plot both suggest an instability of selves and politics. Patricia Springborg notes that the social contract of the Enlightenment was a response to 'the dynastic instability of hereditary monarchy founded on patrilineality'.[92] Haywood's text, however, suggests that the social contract of liberal government—because of various threats to autonomy, consent, and power—is also unstable. This instability is reflected in both the plot events as well as the structure of the narrative, creating a sceptical political position as well as a sceptical aesthetic for the novel.

The Problem of Force

Although the central concern of this chapter is the fraud of collective delusion, my analysis of autonomy would be incomplete without some attention to

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[90] Tavor, *Scepticism*, 1.
[91] My italics.
[92] Patricia Springborg, 'Astell, Masham, and Locke: Religion and Politics', in *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition*, ed. Hilda L. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 108.

force. Before Eovaai's father dies, he urges her not to lose the amulet—to let 'neither Force nor Fraud . . . deprive [her] of this Sacred Treasure' (56). Despite some significant moments of coercion by force (when she is imprisoned by her subjects and when she is twice abducted by Ochihatou), Eovaai's story is primarily one of manipulation by fraud. However, the interpolated tale of Yximilla is one of coercion by force. The 'History of Yximilla' interrupts the narrative of Ochihatou's seduction of Eovaai in the moments leading up to his final and total success over Eovaai's virtue. At the moment of Eovaai's imminent ruin, the narrator interrupts to say he must give the reader another example of the 'ambitious and unsatiable' nature of man. To do so, he tells the story of Yximilla, 'a Lady of uncommon Perfections', who is the ruler of a nation called Ginksy and who is beloved by Yamatalallabec, a Prince in whom 'all the manly Graces seem'd to vye with each other' (80). These two royals fall in love and want to get married; however, Yximilla is not allowed 'to marry without the Consent of the People', and the people—or, rather, some manipulative governors—withhold their consent. Although the people of Ginksy have only the greatest respect for both Yximilla and Yamatalallabec, they are influenced by ambitious usurpers to deny the couple's right to marry. Therefore, in Yximilla's story, like Eovaai's, autonomy and consent are threatened, but for different reasons. Through Eovaai's 'history', Haywood demonstrates the ways in which politicians can use fraud and delusion to corrupt the legitimacy of the people's consent and undermine their participation in government. In contrast, through Yximilla's history, Haywood demonstrates the ways in which a few self-interested politicians can withhold consent to force their preferred outcomes—thereby subverting the power of the sovereign as well as the

consent of the body politic as a whole. Or, if that does not work, they can use physical force to achieve their desired ends.

The author of Yximilla's ruin is Broscomin, a sovereign of a 'petty Principality' who wants also to be King of Ginksy. He is allied with Oudescar, King of Habul, who influences a few Ginksyan lords 'to protest against the Marriage of Yamatalallabec with Yximilla, in order to impede the Completion of it, and give him time to raise an Army, which shou'd enforce that Princess to receive Broscomin'. Meanwhile, the hateful and resentful Tygrinonniple, Queen of the Icindas, has a grudge against Yamatalallabec, so she is eager to take any action against him, including blocking the personal and political happiness that would result from his marriage to Yximilla. And so, 'before Yximilla had any warning of her Danger, the Forces of these two potent Princes [King Oudescar and Queen Tygrinonniple] poured down upon her Kingdom' (81). Although Yamatalallabec tries to mount a defence, he has insufficient forces and an uncommitted ally, and so the Ginksyans begin to lose ground to Oudescar. Although the treasonous Ginksyan Lords later regret their support of Oudescar, in the moment of the crisis, they see no choice but to align themselves with him in order to preserve their own safety and that of their families. As a result, the Ginksyans lose their sovereignty, Yximilla is imprisoned and forced to marry Broscomin, and Yamatalallabec flees into exile.[93]

The 'history' of Yximilla is not only a sudden interruption of Eovaai's story, but it is also a distinctive narrative in terms of content and style. The first difference is that Yximilla's story is not magical, a distinction that has gone unremarked in the scholarship about this text. There are no instances of magic

[93] For arguments about whom these characters signify, see Wilputte, introduction to *Eovaai;* Last, 'The Cabal'; Hargrave, 'Sinocentric'.

being used to delude the citizens. Rather, people are either persuaded to act in a desired way, often through flattery or bribery, or they are overcome by force. Yximilla's story also does not have the triumphant ending that we see in Eovaai's tale. It ends tragically with a successful conquest over Yximilla. The narrative's placement and its distinctions from Eovaai's story have raised questions about how it functions in the text as a whole. Suzan Last recognises the complexity of the Yximilla section, saying that it functions as another Walpolean satire and that it provides another representation of 'the plight of women under patriarchal government'.[94] Earla Wilputte says the Yximilla section 'works as a moral rebuke to Eovaai's desire to succumb to Ochihatou's seduction' and that all of the histories in the novel 'reflect the vulnerability of women and nations to the powerlust of their governors'.[95] While I agree with these arguments that the 'vulnerability' of women and nations is reflected in Yximilla's story, I would broaden the assessments, noting, first, that Yximilla's enemies are not all men. One of the key players in the conquest, for example, is another woman, Queen Tygrinonniple, who is one of two 'Princes' to make war on Yximilla's kingdom, and it is her army who leads the victory over Yximilla and then imprisons her. Further, I would point out that when discussing the vulnerability of 'nations to the powerlust of their governors', it is important to recognise it is not only the citizens of the nations who are vulnerable to their governors, but also the sovereigns of the nations who are vulnerable to those over whom they rule. With these multiple vulnerabilities, Haywood points to the vulnerability of the social contract, itself, and the ways in which checks and balances can become, instead, the levers of corruption.

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[94] Last, 'The Cabal', 32.
[95] Wilputte, 'Textual Architecture', 35.

Another distinction between Yximilla's tale and Eovaai's lies in the characters, themselves. Unlike Eovaai, Yximilla is entirely resolved and committed to her virtue and political values, and at no point does Broscomin or anyone else succeed in flattering her or manipulating her into a consensual relationship or alliance. Unlike Eovaai, Yximilla seems to be a stable self. When Broscomin threatens her, saying, 'I beseech you, to resign willingly that Hand you see I have the power to force', Yximilla refuses to submit: 'Nor Force, nor Fraud, cry'd Yximilla . . . has power to move a Mind disdainful of your pretended Passion, as of your experienc'd Barbarity'. At this Broscomin says that if he cannot attack her mind through fraud or coercion, he will overpower her by physical force, and he is true to his word. She is 'dragg'd' to the Altar where she eventually faints, and she is married to Broscomin while she is unconscious, in the 'Absence of her Senses'—unable to give or deny consent (86 and 88). This military conquest of Yximilla reflects a literalization of the military language that, as Sarah Prescott has noted, dominates the language of sexual conquests in amatory fiction.[96]

Unlike Eovaai, Yximilla does not abandon her precepts, and she is not under a spell. She is committed to her politics and to her virtue, and she does not violate her precepts for self-interest or self-preservation. In addition, she is not deceived: she knows who her enemies are, and she sees what they are doing. However, in spite of her resolve and her knowledge, she does not have sufficient power to resist the political corruption and physical force of those enemies. And therein lies the dual nature of Eovaai's father's warning that she not lose her magic jewel 'by force or by fraud'. In Wilputte's editorial footnotes to the text, she cites Alexander Pope's juxtaposition of 'force' and 'fraud' in *Rape of the Lock*, and Joanne Fowler

[96] Prescott, 'Debt to Pleasure', 433.

points out that the phrase is repeated several times within *Eovaai*; however, neither critic thoroughly pursues the phrase's implications within *Eovaai*.[97] In Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, the passage appears when the Baron sees the locks of hair and wants his 'prize':

> The adventurous Baron the bright locks admired,
>
> He saw, he wished, and to the prize aspired.
>
> Resolved to win, he meditates the way,
>
> By force to ravish, or by fraud betray;
>
> For when success a lover's toil attends,
>
> Few ask if fraud or force attained his ends.[98]

Toni Bowers argues that in Pope's poem, 'Force and fraud become interchangeable at the very moment the Baron pauses to choose between them'.[99] Although Bowers has little to say about *Eovaai*, her claim that force and fraud are seen as 'interchangeable' supports my claim that Yximilla's history might be less of a foil to Eovaai's tale than a supplement to it. Although Yximilla's resolve does contrast with Eovaai's instability, Yximilla is, regardless of her fixed nature, still stripped of both her autonomy and her consent. Furthermore, even though Yximilla is stable, many of those around her are not. Of particular note is the frailty of the 'Holy Man', who was formerly 'resolved' and 'saint-like', but who agrees to perform Yximilla's coerced marriage to Broscomin despite the fact that he had witnessed her

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[97] Haywood, *Eovaai*, 56n1; Joanna Fowler, 'Narrative Person, Perspective and Voice in Eliza Haywood's The Adventures of Eovaai', *Early Modern Englishwomen Testing Ideas*, ed. Jo Wallwork and Paul Salzman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011): 133. Toni Bowers's book *Force or Fraud* addresses these issues, but Bowers's commentary on *Eovaai* is limited to two footnotes: 225n494 and 225n495.
[98] Alexander Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, Canto 2, lines 29-35.
[99] Bowers, *Force or Fraud,* 2.

engagement contract with Yamatalallabec and despite the fact that Yximilla objects to the marriage (87).

The text's greatest concern seems to be the epistemological crisis faced by Eovaai and the Hypotofans as they struggle with deception, interpretation, and other problems of judgment; however, readers should not fail to note that even someone like Yximilla, a stable self who sees through deception, correctly interprets contexts, and makes good judgments, can still end up in a position of full subjugation. Both Eovaai and Yximilla are sovereign women who are usurped and imprisoned with the help of the nobles of their kingdoms, and Ochihatou threatens to rape Eovaai if she does not consent. Both of these stories bear the influence of the seduction narrative, but they diverge in that the women being seduced—through force and fraud—are monarchs, and, as such, Haywood expands the political implications of such threats. Wilputte says that Yximilla's tale is a 'benignly political romance' and that Yximilla is 'just an elaborate footnote in Ochihatou's history' but, in fact, her history is an important piece of Haywood's interrogation of autonomy, judgment, and politics.[100]

Conclusion

In *Eovaai*, Haywood betrays a deep and extreme scepticism about our ability to know truth. She also suggests that, even if the truth *is* known, we do not always have the power to achieve a desired outcome. This is true between a woman and a man, and also between subjects and their governors. In both public and private matters, the characters of *Eovaai* must hope for good luck and a magical telescope. Haywood leaves her characters and her readers hoping for the

[100] Wilputte, 'Textual Architecture', 37 and 36.

same. This scepticism suggests an inevitable instability in the social contract. Even though a republican or constitutional monarchy—in concert with a wise and benevolent sovereign—seems to offer the most 'checks and balances', the stories of Eovaai and Yximilla suggest that an inevitable instability exists in even the most ideal political systems because of the problems of partiality and corruption—especially among ministers and lords—which lead to deception and the abuse of force.

This political instability is also reflected in the narrative instability of the text. The complicated apparatus of various footnotes and voices in the text places readers in a place of judgment. However, the task for the reader is quite a difficult one. As Suzan Last suggests, 'The playful equivocation on the part of the translator complicates any attempt to find a secure and interpretive center'.[101] Similarly, Joanna Fowler suggests that critics err when they seek 'to establish a definitive answer regarding Haywood's personal and political views' and 'that the key point of a multivalent text is that it is subject to a variety of applications and interpretations; therefore, a single meaning is not necessarily to be sought'.[102] However, I would suggest that the 'playful' nature of the text does not allow readers to evade judgment or the attempt to make meaning altogether. Rather the particular problems raised by the text—problems of government and deception—require both judgment and action from the reader and from the citizen. Haywood's innovative and experimental form suggests that such judgement and action is fraught with both anxiety and peril.

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[101] Last, 'The Cabal', 36.
[102] Fowler, 'Narrative Person', 133.

CHAPTER THREE:

LYING AUTHORITY IN *THE FEMALE SPECTATOR*

In this chapter, I argue that in *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746), Eliza Haywood employs rhetorical strategies that continue the work of shifting the authority of textual interpretation and determination away from the author/editor and into the hands—or rather the minds—of her readers. By doing this, Haywood departs from the conventions of earlier, more authoritative periodicals and engages readers' judgment in ways that develop their interpretive ability and authority. With this argument, I recast the debate between those scholars who find Haywood's periodical persona to be authoritative and those scholars who do not, and I offer a third possibility: that the authority of the periodical persona changes over the course of the periodical. In fact, I aim to show that important to the pedagogy of *The Female Spectator* is that Haywood first establishes a strong authoritative voice for her eidolon, the Female Spectator, before later destabilizing that voice in Books 18 and 19. This process of developing and then destabilizing authority turns out to be a necessary part not only of encouraging her readers to question and challenge authority, but also of building their skills to do so.

This destabilization of authority occurs primarily through Haywood's use of travel narratives, which, among Haywood's contemporaries, commonly triggered the negotiation between scepticism and credulity.[1] As Steve Shapin puts it, 'Travel narratives appeared as a necessary source of knowledge, and also as an endemic trouble for the knower. How could one effectively secure this sort of knowledge,

[1] Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 63-85.

and how could one know when it was secure?'[2] Therefore, in *The Female Spectator*, as in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* and *The Adventures of Eovaai*, Haywood engages with a male tradition that foregrounds the problems of narrative credibility. However, in *The Female Spectator*, Haywood begins to mitigate the scepticism of her earlier texts. Surprisingly, and perhaps ironically, this mitigation occurs through the development of the reader's imagination, which Haywood activates through the 'experimental image' of the Female Spectator. As readers imagine the ideas and judgments of another 'mind' (in this case, the mind of the Female Spectator), they are led to extend their subjectivity to consider multiple judgments beyond their own, a process that leads to a type of dialogic discourse and intersubjectivity that can help them create better judgments than those that are based on only sensory experience or isolated reflection. This engagement of the imagination connects Haywood's periodical to her fiction as it prefigures the kind of imaginative leaps and 'theory of mind' that are significant in her later fiction, such as *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* (1753).

Scholars have disagreed about the nature of authority in *The Female Spectator*, and my argument aims to both complicate and, to some degree, resolve competing interpretations. Some have argued that the voice of the fictional persona or 'eidolon' of *The Female Spectator* is an authoritative one. Ricardo Miguel-Alfonso, for example, says that Haywood (whom he problematically conflates with her fictional persona) asserts a 'monological authority' and an 'infallibility' that stems from her experience and education.[3] With this claim, he

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[2] Shapin, *A Social History*, 247.
[3] Ricardo Miguel-Alfonso, 'Social Conservatism, Aesthetic Education, and the Essay Genre in Eliza Haywood's *Female Spectator*', in Wright and Newman, *Fair Philosopher*, 76.

connects Haywood's voice with the voices of earlier works such as the *Athenian Mercury* (1690-1697), the *Tatler* (1709-1711), and the *Spectator* (1711-1712), whose male editors (and/or personae) assumed 'authoritative voices' that were maintained, and even heightened, throughout the development of their periodicals.[4] Kathryn Shevelow has argued that despite the fact that these earlier periodicals established a 'community' of readers and writers, the editors of these publications maintained their authoritative voices throughout their writings, leaving little room for ambiguity and reader interpretation within the established community of readers.[5] Like Miguel-Alfonso, Manushag Powell suggests that the Female Spectator asserts authority over 'readerly critiques' and that the eidolon reminds readers that '*she* is the expert on both writing and the world'.[6]

In contrast, other scholars have argued that the Female Spectator's authority is qualified or de-centred. Shevelow, for example, argues that the editorial voice of the *Female Spectator* is less authoritative than the male voices in the earlier essay-periodicals and that the narrative persona in *The Female Spectator,* while establishing an authority within a 'feminine province,' still indicates her own 'moral fallibility' and a greater sense of equality with fellow editors and even readers than was seen in the periodicals with male personae.[7] As Kathryn King notes, *The Female Spectator* is typically 'praised for its vigorous challenge to the masculine authority of [its] celebrated predecessor', *The Spectator*.[8] Anthony Pollock also argues that Haywood's periodical challenges

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[4] Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, 47.
[5] Ibid., 90-91.
[6] Manushag Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012), 156, Powell's italics.
[7] Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture,* 171.
[8] King, *Political Biography*, 111.

masculine authority, claiming that *The Female Spectator* echoes the work of Mary Astell in its 'shared critique of unreflective female specularlity,' and he argues that Haywood's periodical challenges its readers to question the authority of those periodicals produced by 'male gossips' in coffee-houses.[9] Eve Tavor Bannet also contrasts *The Female Spectator* with earlier periodicals, suggesting that the authority in *The Female Spectator* is a de-centred one. She says, 'Where *The Spectator* had aspired to "tell the Blanks of Society" . . . what to think, *The Female Spectator* told women of condition not to be blanks. Like her seventeenth-century predecessors [Damaris Masham, Lady Chudleigh, Bathsua Makin, and Mary Astell], she insisted that a woman's first duty was to learn to think and judge for herself'.[10] Alexander Pettit also argues that Haywood has no interest in being a 'mono-vocal censor', and he contrasts the voice of *The Female Spectator* with the 'controlling authorial persona' found in periodicals by mid-century male writers such as Johnson and Fielding.[11]

I aim both to complicate and synthesize the above conclusions by demonstrating that the two opposing claims about authority, in some ways, are both correct but also incomplete. Haywood does, in fact, establish an authoritative voice for her periodical persona, but it is an authoritative voice that she later deconstructs. Haywood first establishes her eidolon as a central authority and then, later, she leads the reader to doubt the very authority that has been established, consequently requiring the readers to assume authority for themselves. It is important to note that although my argument has bearing on Eliza

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[9] Anthony Pollock, *Gender and Fictions*, 160 and 164.
[10] Eve Tavor Bannet, 'Haywood's Spectator and the Female World', in Wright and Newman, *Fair Philosopher,* 97.
[11] Alexander Pettit, 'The Pickering & Chatto *Female Spectator*: Nearly Four Pounds of Ephemera, Enshrined', in Wright and Newman, *Fair Philosopher*, 47-48.

Haywood's reputation as an author, my central concern is how Haywood builds and then destabilizes the authority and voice of her *eidolon*—the fictional persona of the periodical. Although eidolons, to some degree, 'point' to their authors, there is also a constructed gap between the two.[12] As Powell puts it, '[The eidolon's] function is performative in that it allows the audience to recognize and be satisfied by the signifiers of authorship while obscuring the author's core personality'. My argument exploits this gap by focusing on how Haywood manipulates the perceived authority of her eidolon without disrupting her own authority as true author. Although Powell's study constructs a strong foundation on which I build my argument, I resist her final conclusions about how authority is performed in *The Female Spectator*. Powell claims that the Female Spectator becomes *more* authoritative by the end of the periodical, saying, 'By the end of her text, Haywood alters the postures she had initially set up, wherein the author is the docile wife and the reader the persuadable but authoritative husband: the reader who has followed her to the end of the last volume discovers to his dismay that he has dwindled into a child, and she is enlarged into his authorial mother'.[13] In other words, Powell suggests that the reader loses authority over the course of the text. In contrast, I will show that the Female Spectator builds an authoritative voice at the beginning of her periodical, but that she later, in Books 18 and 19, destabilizes that authority, creating and exploiting the doubt and scepticism of readers in order to shift authority onto them. If the Female Spectator is an 'authorial mother', then she is one who has, over the course of her periodical, sought to raise her reader into an independent adult.

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[12] Powell, *Performing Authorship*, 26-27.
[13] Ibid., 152.

With this interpretation, I echo Earla Wilputte when she says, 'In fine, Haywood demands that her readers become spectators like herself, questioning, monitoring, challenging, and then, surprisingly after so much advice on silence, voicing their "Approbation or Disappointment" of "all that passes"'.[14] However, I complicate and extend Wilputte's reading in several ways. First, as I noted above, I argue that authority *changes* over the course of *The Female Spectator*. It is this shift that makes Haywood's management of authority so interesting. Without that initial establishment of authority, the Female Spectator might *say* her readers should think for themselves (as the parrot 'author' repeatedly does in Haywood's periodical *The Parrot* [August-October, 1746]), but her text would not lead readers to *perform* that function. In addition, while Wilputte suggests that Haywood's scepticism *begins* in *The Female Spectator* (in response to nine months of 'broad-bottom' government),[15] I argue that in this periodical Haywood's long standing scepticism actually enters a state of mitigation.

One additional position to consider is put forth by Shawn Lisa Maurer, who has challenged the above arguments by suggesting that although Haywood, in *The Female Spectator*, purports to achieve authority in a domestic and feminine sphere, she in fact forfeits that authority because of her 'deference' to the male periodical tradition. Maurer says that the Female Spectator's authority is 'circumscribed by the text's need for men's approval and participation'.[16] Maurer criticizes Haywood for her failed attempt to 'address [her] predecessors' glaring omission of women

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[14] Wilputte, '"Too ticklish"', 138.
[15] Ibid., 136.
[16] Shawn Lisa Maurer, *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century Periodical* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 213 and 231.

from the masculine domain of the Spectator's Club'.[17] Maurer says that Haywood's focus on courtship, for example, is ultimately centred on men and that this centrality undermines the 'authority deriving from female experience'.[18] She also criticizes the text because of its tendency to feature men as 'intellectual ambassadors' who guide the female editor and her readers through topics such as politics, nature, and travel that are typically within the public (or masculine) sphere.[19] In other words, Maurer criticizes Haywood for not focusing on and establishing authority over a decidedly and entirely separate, feminine sphere. Although I agree with Maurer that *The Female Spectator* does not try to establish authority based on an entirely 'feminine province' (to use Shevelow's term), one need not see this as mere 'deference' to masculine authority. Rather, one might view it, as I do, as a reflection of women's efforts towards authority and autonomy across the spheres. It does not seem to follow that engagement with traditionally male spheres of dialogue necessitates the conclusion of a deferral to the male voices at work in these traditions. Sarah Prescott and Jane Spencer make this point as they resist strict 'separate sphere' interpretations of eighteenth-century periodicals.[20] Like Prescott and Spencer, I argue that the eidolon of *The Female Spectator* is interested in broad social authority, and, like King, Bannet, and Pollock, I argue that, with *The Female Spectator*, Haywood encourages her readers to question authority of all kinds (even her own) in order to improve their capacity for exercising their judgment and autonomy.

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[17] Ibid., 213.
[18] Ibid., 214.
[19] Ibid., 224.
[20] Prescott and Spencer, 'Prattling', esp. 46-47. For additional discussions of nuance in the 'rigid separate sphere thesis', see also Betty A. Schellenberg, *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3-4 and 7-20.

Reading Across the Books of *The Female Spectator*

My argument about *The Female Spectator's* shift in authority relies on a reading of the text that draws connections between separate issues or 'books' of the periodical. Alexander Pettit, one of the editors of the 2001 Pickering and Chatto edition of *The Female Spectator*, cautions against such a reading and has encouraged readers of the modern edition of the text to remember that Eliza Haywood's original periodical was an ephemeral and 'wildly miscellaneous periodical that was never meant to be read' as one continuous text.[21] He suggests that the Pickering and Chatto edition, while obviously useful for scholars, encourages a problematic mode of reading that 'contradicts [the periodical's] native status as ephemera'.[22] He also suggests that, because the periodical is 'wildly miscellaneous' and ephemeral, it is 'not a problem' that 'few Haywoodians have read the work cover to cover (or cover to cover to cover to cover)'.[23] Though I do not dispute the miscellaneous nature of the periodical, I would argue that contemporary scholars actually have much to gain from reading *The Female Spectator* in its entirety and in its original chronological order, and that doing so is not as problematic as Pettit suggests. First, only by reading the different books in concert can readers see the unique ways in which Haywood creates dialogue between the books themselves and between author, text, and reader. In addition, although Pettit cautions scholars about reading the periodical as a unified and cohesive publication, I would suggest that some of today's scholars actually tend to read Haywood's periodical in even more fragmented ways than her

[21] Pettit, 'The Pickering & Chatto *Female Spectator*', 42.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

contemporaries did. Granted, the original issues or 'books', as Haywood called them, were published separately, included a wide variety of topics, and can, indeed, be picked up and read (and basically understood) in fragments. But, to some degree, our modern-day fragmented way of reading Haywood's periodical in excerpts has perpetuated misunderstandings and misreadings. Before the Pickering and Chatto edition, there were no modern editions that included the periodical in its entirety. Instead, individual editors made choices about what selections to include from the periodical, and those selections usually represented a small percentage of the periodical as a whole. Sarah Prescott makes this point about Patricia Meyer Spacks's edition of selections from *The Female Spectator*, which focuses mostly on the amatory and courtship elements of the periodical, giving readers the incorrect sense that Haywood's periodical does not include any consideration of politics.[24] Therefore, despite the fact that *The Female Spectator* is by its nature a collection of smaller 'books', this type of selective sampling can lead to problems. Reading just one piece of the periodical can be like the blind man touching the leg of an elephant: the selected piece might give the reader an inaccurate sense of the whole. Even though the modern Pickering and Chatto edition might create a false sense of unity for today's readers of the periodical, there are, in fact, rhetorical strategies that are difficult to notice or understand if the text is *not* read wholly and chronologically. For example, the categorization of *The Female Spectator* as 'conduct literature' for women seems grounded in a reading of only certain portions of the publication, most notably the first several books of the periodical, and it seems to ignore the plethora of topics—including

[24] Sarah Prescott, 'A Market Share: Recent Editions of Eighteenth-Century Writing by Women', *Women's Writing* 9.2 (2002): 319-20.

politics, philosophy, science, and the supernatural—that fill the essays within the text.

While it is true that Haywood's contemporaries might not have read the entirety of every book, most of her original readers would have read the books in the order in which they were published, and many readers, even in Haywood's lifetime, read the periodical in collected, bound volumes—volumes which imposed some unity to the originally published books.[25] In addition, many of the books were published within approximately four weeks of each other—a short enough interval for the previous books to still be in readers' memories and, perhaps, still be in parlours and coffee-houses as well. This might be assumed since, as Powell notes, the books of *The Female Spectator*, at approximately 60 pages, were longer and more expensive than the daily sheets published by Addison and Steele.[26] Just the fact that Haywood called her issues 'books' departs from earlier periodicals and, perhaps, suggests a state that is not so ephemeral after all.[27] The Female Spectator, herself, assumes some level of continuity between the books as she frequently makes references to previous and forthcoming books, suggesting that she—and her readers—are, to some degree, looking forward and backward between published issues.[28]

In this chapter, I first show how Haywood establishes authority for her eidolon using both conventional and unconventional strategies. Then, I

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[25] Powell, 'Eliza Haywood, Periodicalist(?)', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14.4 (2014): 168-69.
[26] Ibid., 170.
[27] Iona Italia, *Anxious Employment: The Rise of Literary Journalism in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2005), 129.
[28] For an additional example not discussed elsewhere in this chapter, see Book 15 when the Female Spectator refers back to a discussion from Book 5 (*FS*15, II:3, 175).

demonstrate how, through the juxtaposition of her book on 'lying' and her employment of travel narratives, she deconstructs that authority. Specifically, I draw connections between Book 16 (10 August, 1745), Book 18 (19 October, 1745), and Book 19 (2 November, 1745). Book 16, after a harangue on the evils of stepmothers, includes a letter from a contributor called Eumenes, who offers a short travel narrative about Topsy-Turvy Island. In a note to the text, Kathryn King and Alexander Pettit indicate that the name of this island is not original but comes from *The Adventures of Abdalla* (1729), which was translated from the French by William Hatchett, who collaborated with Haywood on other works and who typically is assumed to have been her long-time personal partner.[29] However, King and Pettit also note that the island in *The Female Spectator* is like the original in name only. Whereas the original focused on the odd physicality of the inhabitants, Haywood's version focuses on their manners, religion, and culture. As part of her response to Eumenes's epistle, the Female Spectator invites him to write again with further descriptions of the politics of Topsy-Turvy Island. At the end of Book 18, the Female Spectator says that Eumenes has obliged her request, and the second (and longer) Topsy-Turvy narrative is published in Book 19. In the second Topsy-Turvy narrative, Eumenes does, in fact, include details of the islanders' politics, and these details are indicative and satirical of England's politics under the Hanovers and Robert Walpole.

[29] King and Pettit also speculate that since William Hatchett translated *The Adventures of Abdalla* (the source of the original account of a Topsy-Turvy Island) from the French to the English, he might have also had a hand in the letters from 'Eumenes' as well as in other aspects of periodical and/or its publication (*FS*16, II:3, 118n6).

Also significant to the travel narrative in Book 19 is that it follows Book 18, which focuses on the evils of lying and includes a diatribe against false travel narratives. Book 18 also includes another travel narrative that is not as obviously fictional as those about Topsy-Turvy Island. It is set in 'Summatra', and the Female Spectator vouches for the credibility of its source and notes that it is realistic and includes 'nothing of those monstrous Descriptions some Books of Travel have given us' (*FS*18, II:3, 198). By publishing dubious travel narratives immediately after harangues about lying and the scourge of deceptive travel stories, Haywood evokes the scepticism of her readers. Granted, the name of Topsy-Turvy island suggests its fictionality, but Haywood's use of similar and typical travel narrative conventions for both the Summatra narrative and the Topsy-Turvy narrative foregrounds the dubious nature of travel narratives in general. Furthermore, the political problems of the second Topsy-Turvy narrative demonstrate the problems of a passive body politic, thereby indicating the need for readers (as political subjects) to learn to think for themselves and question authority. Central to their ability to do this is their engagement with the eidolon as an experimental image, and I end this chapter by showing how this engagement develops the 'enlarged mentality' of the reader and, therefore, a sociable idea of autonomy and judgment.

Building Authority in *The Female Spectator*

Throughout the first half of the periodical, the Female Spectator creates a sense of authority for herself and her assistants, or fellow spectators. In Book 1 of the periodical, which was first published 24 April, 1744, the Female Spectator establishes her authority through several sources, including her experience, her education, her class, her modesty, her collaboration with three assistants, and her

'Spies' that she claims to have placed near and far to provide her with all the '*Secrets of Europe*'. Regarding her life experience, the Female Spectator tells us that she is a reformed coquet and that she has previously, in younger days, been 'engross'd by a Hurry of promiscuous Diversions' (*FS*1, II:1, 17-18). However, by combining these experiences with a great deal of 'Reflection' and 'an Education more liberal than is ordinarily allowed Persons of [her] Sex', the Female Spectator has, in time, been able to learn from these experiences and enter the 'Dominion of Reason' (*FS*1, II:1, 18). Shevelow suggests that by '[b]asing her persona's claims to authority upon her culpability rather than her superiority, Haywood rewrote the moral essay'.[30] Although Shevelow's argument is persuasive to the degree that Haywood's periodical differs from those that were published early in the eighteenth century, I would suggest that similar kinds of authority through 'reformation' might be found in pre-existing philosophical dialogues and essays. The Female Spectator implies this herself when, in Book 4, she claims that 'SOCRATES the Philosopher, . . . who being addicted to all Manner of Intemperance, gain'd the Victory by his Reason and Resolution over each inordinate Passion, and was the Pattern of Virtue and Abstemiousness' (*FS*4, II:2, 135). The Female Spectator suggests that just as Socrates overcame his vices through serious thought and reflection, so has she, and she also suggests that this process of reflection and reformation authorizes her 'lucubrations', a term that Richard Steele 'attached to periodical writing forever in *The Tatler*',[31] and one that the Female Spectator frequently uses to characterize her own reflections.

[30] Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, 168.
[31] Powell, 'Eliza Haywood, Periodicalist (?)', 179.

The Female Spectator also establishes credibility and 'Proof of Sincerity' by offering a very modest assessment of her person and writing ability. To establish her sincerity, she says, 'I never was a Beauty, and am now very far from being young; (a Confession [the reader] will find few of my Sex ready to make)' (*FS*1, II:1, 17). By admitting to something so unflattering and against gender codes, the Female Spectator suggests to the reader that she is a sincere, reliable truth-teller. Her modesty assures readers that, if she is willing to admit to these unflattering things about herself, she is unlikely to lie about anything else. Not only is she modest about her personal appearance and history, but she also confesses that, when she first tried to write the essays on her own, her 'Matter and Stile' were deficient and that, as a result, she had to get 'assistance' from three collaborators. Again, the Female Spectator, ironically, establishes her own credibility through self-deprecation of her talents. Shevelow suggests that these passages do seem to 'qualify the dominance of the persona'.[32] However, even though she is self-deprecating and modest when discussing herself and her own abilities, she, in contrast, heaps significant praise upon her collaborators, and through the presence of these collaborators, regardless of whether they are real or fictional, she reclaims a general dominance and authority as the editor.[33] In order to create authority despite her personal flaws and weaknesses, she identifies her collaborators as paragons of virtue and wisdom. They are Mira, a wife in a harmonious marriage with a 'worthy' husband; an unnamed widow who is joyful but virtuous; and Euphrosine, a 'charming', cheerful, sweet, and beautiful young lady (*FS*1, II:2, 18-19). Even though the Female Spectator presents herself with self-deprecation—

[32] Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, 171.
[33] For a discussion of whether or not Haywood had additional contributors to *The Female Spectator*, see King, *Political Biography*, 113-22.

thereby demonstrating her humility and honesty—she gains credibility and authority by praising her collaborators who are the perfect models of every station in a woman's life: the wife, the widow, and the virgin. In addition, although Patricia Meyer Spacks puts the Female Spectator and her readers in the middle class, Iona Italia argues that that the Female Spectator elevates herself, her collaborators, and her readers by asserting their gentility.[34] If Italia is right (and she offers persuasive evidence), then the Female Spectator gains additional authority from her class status.

Despite the proposed individuality of these co-authors, the Female Spectator fully absorbs and even bodily incorporates their talents and authority when she adds the following:

> [W]hatever Productions I shall be favour'd with from these Ladies, or any others I may hereafter correspond with, will be exhibited under the general Title of *The Female Spectator*, and how many Contributors soever there may happen to be to the Work, they are to be consider'd only as several Members of one Body, of which I am the Mouth. (*FS*1, II:2, 19)

In other words, despite the individual and possibly diverse sources of writing, information, or ideas included in the periodical, they are all part of one voice and one 'author'—the Female Spectator—who has now established herself as a modest and honest representation of the best qualities and features of women, and as the single, authoritative mouthpiece for the periodical published as *The Female Spectator*. In this way, the Female Spectator claims to have a community of

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[34] Patricia Meyer Spacks, introduction to *Selections from The Female Spectator* by Eliza Haywood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xiii; Italia, *Anxious Employment*, 134.

contributors, but she also claims that she is an authoritative voice, and these latter claims support arguments that the Female Spectator asserts a monological authority.

In subsequent books, the Female Spectator further develops her authority through praise from her letter writers—that is, from outside sources or witnesses. One of the early letter writers, '*Sorrowful* Amintor', praises the Female Spectator even as he questions the facts of her gender and collaborators:

> '*Ladies* or *Gentlemen*,
>
> *Madam* or *Sir*,
>
> WHETHER you are a single or collective Body; whether Female, as you pretend, or Male, as the Strength and Energy of your Writings tempts me rather to believe; if you have a Human Heart you will pity the calamitous Circumstance which occasions this Epistle'. (*FS*7, II:2, 233)

Even as this letter raises doubt about the Female Spectator's nature as a person and author, it simultaneously adds to the credentials she has already established—namely all of the best qualities of women in every station (wife, widow, or virgin)—by asserting that the Female Spectator also demonstrates the highest qualities of a *male* writer: 'Strength and Energy'. Any sense of her 'fallibility' seems to be, at this point of the text, erased (or at least overshadowed) by such accolades. The Female Spectator not only has the feminine authority of her chosen subject matter, but she has additional authority based on what Amintor identifies as a masculine style. Whether or not her style is, in fact, masculine is somewhat immaterial in the face of Amintor's claim; what matters most is that he makes the claim at all. In addition, Amintor's suspicion of the eidolon's body—whether it is

male or female, one or many—draws attention to the degree that the Female Spectator is more of a mind than a body. In *The Female Spectator*, the eidolon's body is noticeably absent after her initial reference to her lack of beauty and the 'one mouth' of her authorship. This lack of embodiment is also the case in other texts, such as in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, *The Invisible Spy,* and *The Tea Table*. As Karen Bloom Gevirtz says in her analysis of *The Tea Table*, 'Haywood seems to be following the emerging and Lockean emphasis on the disembodiment of knowledge, the idea that the body is not only disconnected from knowledge, but also disconnected from knowledge production'.[35] This disembodiment also reflects Cartesian philosophy, 'which broke the conception between women's minds and their bodies by positing the mind as independent of the body'.[36] *The Female Spectator* reflects this 'independence' as it blurs several aspects of identity, and this blurring can be read as a challenge to the prevailing conception in the eighteenth century that women's subjectivity was associated 'with the Body, rather than the Mind'.[37]

The Female Spectator adds to her authority in at least two additional ways in Book 9 with a letter from 'The Querist' that arrives from '*Bedford-Head* Tavern' and which requests her replies be sent to '*Will's Coffee-House*'. First, the letter adds to the Female Spectator's authority because it allegedly comes from a male writer who frequents the public taverns and coffee-houses that are popular with men about town who discuss serious matters of the world.[38] The mere fact that such men would read *The Female Spectator* adds to its credibility as a source for the

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[35] Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 124-25.
[36] Cornett, 'Hoodwink'd by Custom', 55-56.
[37] Ibid., 43.
[38] For a passage by Haywood on coffee-houses as 'the world in miniature' and important sites for discussion, see Haywood, *Invisible Spy*, 157-58.

general reading public—as opposed to a more limited female reading public. In addition, not only do the men *read* the periodical, but they have decided that the voice of the publication—the Female Spectator, herself—is the only one who can settle a debate about the relative merits of two female political figures, the Queen of Hungary and the Queen of Spain, and which one of the two queens possesses 'the greatest Share of Spirit'. 'The Querist' recounts the coffee-house debate that the men could not resolve on their own:

> 'Arguments [about the two queens] continued, till by Degrees every one in the Room listed himself either on the one or the other Side:—The Numbers on both happen'd to be equal, and it was at length concluded to consult the *Female Spectator*, and that we should allow that Opinion to be most just which you should pronounce to be so . . . . All are Witnesses of what I write, and join to beg you will give Judgment with Freedom and Impartiality, which will confer a lasting Obligation on a Set of Gentlemen who are most of them your Subscribers, and all Admirers of your Speculations'. (*FS*9, II:2, 330)

Granted, the men have asked her to settle a question about *women*, but the subject is, nevertheless, a political one about which they deem her opinion completely authoritative. In *The Dialogic Imagination*, Mikhail Bakhtin speaks about the kind of response the Querist is requesting from the Female Spectator. Bakhtin says, 'The authoritative word demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally;

we encounter it with its authority already fused to it'.[39] This is the kind of authority that 'The Querist' assigns to the Female Spectator. He is not requiring any kind of 'internal persuasion' from the logic of her response but rather he will accept a binding and authoritative decision. As such, she obliges him with a declaration that the title should go to the Queen of Hungary. Although Maurer says that elements like this one show a desire to appease male readers and, therefore, defer to their authority, I argue that the exchange shows that the Female Spectator can have authority even among men and that her authority is still feminine despite a possible masculine 'style' or lack of female embodiment.[40]

The letter from the Querist adds another dimension to the author-reader relationship as well. Early eighteenth-century periodicals 'encouraged the notion of the reader-writer relationship transcending the text, constructing out of a textual relationship an appearance of their extra-textual engagement in readers' lives' and that, therefore, the periodical journals created a sense of both public and private 'intimacy'.[41] As evidence, Shevelow points to cases in which editors included promises of private correspondence. In the letter from the Querist, we see an example of such a 'transcendence' when he writes in a post-script, 'If you think it improper to insert this in your next Publication, or print any thing in Answer to it, please do favour us with your private Sentiments on the Debate, directed for me

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[39] M. M. Bakhtin, from *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. M. Holquist and C. Emerson, in *The Bakhtin Reader: Selected Writing*, ed. by Pam Morris (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 75.

[40] Maurer, *Proposing Men*, 213-231. For an argument that the authority of a female eidolon is still feminine, regardless of the gender of the true author of the text, see Prescott and Spencer, 'Prattling', 44-45.

[41] Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, 46. On the relationship between periodical writers (or eidolons) and readers, see also Powell, *Performing Authorship*, 14; Italia, *Anxious Employment*, 21 and 85; and Sarah Prescott, *Women, Authorship and Literary Culture, 1690-1740* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 35.

(as I have above subscribed myself) to be left at *Will's Coffee-House* in *Great Russel-Street, Covent Garden*' (*FS*9, II:2, 330). Not only does this letter suggest the potential of a private correspondence that could exist outside of the periodical, but also it signifies that its writer trusts the editor with the decision of whether or not the letter is 'improper' for publication. The letter writer defers to the editor in every way while still suggesting a sense of respect and trust. This respect and trust about a political matter also confirms the claim by Sarah Prescott and Jane Spencer that 'the authority claimed by the Female Spectator and other female editorial figures, while certainly represented as specifically feminine, staked a claim to a much wider social field' than the 'feminine province' suggested by Shevelow.[42]

Since scholars do not have a clear sense about which of *The Female Spectator's* contributors are real and which are fictional, we do not know whether or not 'The Querist' is a real person or whether or not his letter is a real letter. Powell observes that 'one of the continuing frustrations of periodical scholarship is how difficult it can be to discern "real" letters from fictional ones'.[43] In either case, however, the letter is significant in regards to the Female Spectator's authority. If the letter is real, then it contributes to her authority in a rather straightforward and direct way because the letter writer and his companions assign her that authority, and readers see that they have done so. If, however, the letter is fictional, there are several possible effects on the Female Spectator's authority: If readers consider it to be real—whether or not it *is* real—then the development of authority with readers remains stable and intact, regardless of the reality. If

[42] Prescott and Spencer, 'Prattling', 47.
[43] Powell, 'Eliza Haywood, Periodicalist (?)', 179. Iona Italia also says that 'it is impossible to know whether this correspondence is real or fictional'. In Italia, *Anxious Employment*, 129.

readers question the reality of the letter and find it suspect, then they might begin to question the very authority that the letter writer seems to assert or validate. In that case, the Female Spectator's authority, and the text itself, might be questioned or undermined, a consequence which, as I indicate above (and will address further below), is, ultimately, what occurs over the course of the periodical. In general, I would argue that the letter from the Querist constructs authority for the text, but if, for some readers, it begins to destabilize authority, it is no matter since, in the end, Haywood will deconstruct that authority to an even greater degree.

Destabilizing and Relocating Authority in *The Female Spectator*

In Books 18 and 19, Eliza Haywood, through the persona of the Female Spectator, creates an earthquake in author-reader trust and ruptures the authority—or, at least, the authoritativeness—that she has seemingly worked so diligently to establish in previous books of the periodical. The topic of Book 18 is deception, and in Book 18, and especially in Book 19, the Female Spectator engages in some of the very types of deception or 'lying' that she condemns. This contrast between what she says and what she does—this appearance of hypocrisy—evokes distrust in the reader, who might begin to doubt the trustworthiness of both 'author' and text. The Female Spectator seemingly creates this distrust in order to emphasize to readers the potential for being duped—by writers, lovers, politicians, etc.—and to encourage (or force) readers to make their own distinctions between truth and fiction. With this claim, I do not mean to suggest that this is subliminal or hostile work that readers would not notice. As Kate Loveman explains, in the early eighteenth century, 'There was a general agreement that a wary, enquiring disposition was a valuable asset in reading, and a

necessary defence against error and deception'.[44] Readers knew their roles as sceptics, but the proper rhetorical strategies needed to be in place in order for them to perform that role. In Books 18 and 19, Haywood provides the elements necessary to for them to do their sceptical work.

One of the first sleights of hand that destabilizes authority occurs when the Female Spectator gets political even as she claims she is not getting political. She begins Book 18 by listing the names of several contributors whose letters she has deemed unsuitable for inclusion in the periodical. One such contribution is a letter from Lycophron, which the Female Spectator says she must omit because the author spends his time 'recommending' rather than 'exploding' a 'Tenet already but too much in vogue', but she does not identify the 'Tenet' he recommends, thereby leading the reader to imagine the omitted discourse (*FS*18, II:3, 177). She also says that she and her assistants decided not to include contributions by Fidelio and Ophelia because their letters were 'on a Subject we have more than once touched upon, and is not interesting enough to be treated on too frequently', a subject that, at least in Ophelia's case, is related to love. Even more significantly, the Female Spectator also tells us that she cannot include the letters of Alcander and Mr. Tell-Truth because they are related to politics. As Kathryn King and Alexander Pettit indicate in a note to the text, Book 18 was published 19 October, 1745, just three months after Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, had 'landed in Scotland and proclaimed his father King of England' and, at the time of the publication of the text, he was preparing to march south into England (*FS*18,

[44] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 34.

II:3, 178n2).[45] In addition, the publication comes only several months after the death of Robert Walpole, whom Eliza Haywood had previously (and viciously) satirized in *The Adventures of Eovaai* (1736). The Female Spectator makes it clear that Alcander and Mr. Tell-Truth's contributions are about current political topics and, therefore, cannot be included. About Alcander, the Female Spectator says, 'The Definition *Alcander* gives us of Plots against the Government, and Plots for the Service of the Government, is admirably fine, but wholly improper at this Time to be inserted, for Reasons which we are amazed he can be insensible of himself' (*FS*18, II:3, 178). Regarding the second letter writer, Mr. Tell-Truth, the Female Spectator says, 'Those Remarks, which Mr. *Tell-Truth* has favoured us with on the present Posture of our Affairs, both Abroad and at Home, very well deserve our Thanks; and if Politics at this Conjuncture were not too ticklish for us to meddle with, should rejoice in an Opportunity of conveying his sentiments to the Public' (*FS*18, II:3, 178). As Wilputte argues, Haywood employs 'censorship' here as a rhetorical strategy. By implying that she cannot discuss or print anything about the Jacobite rebellion, Haywood (through the Female Spectator) brings the rebellion and the related issues into the consciousness of the reader. Wilputte says, 'Absent presences like those of Britanicus, Alcander, Tell-Truth, and Haywood herself, provide tantalizing invitations to read between the lines, an act of critical interpretation that Haywood insisted be diligently exercised on all social, sexual, and political discourse'.[46] And while the Female Spectator insists that she is not, in fact, dealing with these 'ticklish' topics, Wilputte rightly claims that these political

[45] See also King, *Political Biography*, 129-132; and King, 'Patriot or Opportunist? Eliza Haywood and the Politics of *The Female Spectator*', in Wright and Newman, *Fair Philosopher,* 104-21.
[46] Wilputte, 'Too ticklish', 139.

issues overlay the rest of Book 18. As Prescott and Spencer put it, even when the Female Spectator 'raises the notion of politics as an unfeminine subject', she always does so 'in the context of actually bringing the subject into discussion'.[47]

After explaining why she cannot publish the letters of Alcander and Mr. Tell-Truth, the Female Spectator says that instead she will discuss a vice that 'some late Accidents, in *private* Life' have inspired her to address, that vice being the art of deception, or lying (*FS*18, II:3, 178).[48] One senses, however, that her shift to the private realm is not total. The first clue comes even before she mentions the 'private' vice when she makes parting comments about Mr. Tell-Truth's letter, saying that even if readers were to be presented with Mr. Tell-Truth's words, what he says still might not 'remove the Mist from their long-clouded Eyes' because 'we take Pleasure in being deceived, [and] though an Angel should descend from Heaven, and hold a Mirror to shew Things as they really are, we should turn away our Heads and refuse to be convinced' (178). With this comment (combined with the names of the contributors—*Alcander* and *Mr. Tell-Truth*—each of which refers to forthrightness and honesty), the Female Spectator establishes her concern for truth within the context of political life as well as within the context of private life. Thus, it seems that readers are implicitly invited to consider the content of Book 18 to be applicable to both, as they also are invited to think about the problems of self-deception.

In Book 18, the Female Spectator addresses the problems of many kinds of lies, along with the dangers of being duped. These were common points of concern in the early eighteenth century, in part because of the frequent blurring of truth

[47] Prescott and Spencer, 'Prattling', 52.
[48] My italics.

and fiction in news, novels, and periodicals. Scholars like Lennard Davis, Kate Loveman, Jack Lynch, Steven Shapin, Michael McKeon, and Barbara J. Shapiro have analysed conventions of truth and deception as they appear in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century life, letters, literature, and law.[49] Davis argues that the 'frame of doubt' established by the convention of presenting fiction as truth is what *defines* the discourse of the novel—a discourse that creates a sense of realistic truth and, ultimately, ideological truth, despite the presence of factual falsehood. Davis specifically discusses male authors (as do the other scholars I list above), but women writers like Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley, and Eliza Haywood also employ the 'frame of doubt' that Davis describes. As in novels, the early books of *The Female Spectator* present many stories of people who are possibly (even likely) fictitious, all the while asserting that the stories are true. In these early stories, which are focused primarily on courtship and family dynamics, Haywood seems to employ a fairly conventional 'frame of doubt'. The stories could be true, meaning they could be about real people, but the reader does not really know the truth. The Female Spectator says, '[T]ho I shall bring real Facts on the Stage, I shall conceal the Actors Names under such as will be conformable to their Characters; my Intention being only to expose the Vice, not the Person' (*FS*1, II:2, 20). However, for the Female Spectator, ultimately, the factual truth of these tales does not really matter in the face of the greater, ideological truth that she asserts through them.[50] At one point, she even suggests that the factual truth of the Bible is not as important as the truth of its images and ideas: 'It is scarce possible to open

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[49] See Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); Loveman, *Reading Fictions*; Jack Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Shapin, *A Social History*; McKeon, *Origins*; Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*.
[50] McKeon, *Domesticity*, 454-58.

the Bible in any Part of it, without meeting with something which demands our Attention, and obliges even those who give least Faith to the Facts contained in it, to acknowledge that in the Sublimnity of Images it infinitely surpasses all that ever were wrote' (*FS*24, II:3, 404). Thus, regarding the factual truth of the tales of courtship and scandal, the reader is left with ambiguity, but the consequences of this ambiguity are not particularly dire since the ideological truth related to virtue and vice remain unquestioned. In other words, the message is true even if the details are not. This type of fictionality or 'lying' is conventional, and while it cues the Female Spectator's readers to consider the 'frame of doubt', it does not necessarily undermine the eidolon's authoritative voice in the way that later her inclusion of travel narratives will do.

The Female Spectator claims, however, that a different and more dangerous kind of ambiguity or 'lying' exists in the newspapers. Although the newspapers claimed to contain truth, they often were accused of containing lies.[51] However, newspapers did not contain ideological truths that could redeem or mitigate their factual falsehood. In Book 18, the Female Spectator, herself, attacks the newspapers as a source of lies:

> There are Lies calculated to last a Month, a Week, a Day, nay sometimes contradicted by those that forged them, the same Hour; and whoever should pretend to relate any thing he hears from common Fame, or from most of the public News-papers, will be in

[51] See Davis, *Factual Fictions*, 72-79; Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 21-23; McKeon, *Origins*, 47-50; Powell, *Performing Authorship*, 32; Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 89. See also Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *FS*23, II:3, 354-55, for a contributor's defence of falsehood in newspapers.

> very great Danger of having either his Understanding or his Sincerity suspected. And yet, as Mr. *Dryden* justly says,
>
> *The Rabble gather round the Man of News,*
> *And, gaping, seem to listen with their Mouths:*
> *Some tell, some hear, some judge of News, some make it,*
> *And he who lies most loud, is most believed*. (*FS*18, II:3, 200)[52]

In newspapers, it seems, factual truth is crucial since there is not an ideological end that one finds in the Bible or even a novel. Regardless, Haywood (through her eidolon) characterizes her periodical work as something much different from newspapers, and Manushag Powell affirms her claims. As Powell puts it, 'Single-essay periodicals were not read in the same way as news sheets, and they had a markedly different relationship to their readers. They present themselves as serious literary endeavors, and their authors were aware of and resistant to the Grub Street label that even now continues to dog them'.[53] The literary sense of the long-essay periodical allows it the fictionality one sees in novels, a fictionality that demonstrates more concern for ideological truths than factual ones.

In Book 18, in addition to attacking the lies in newspapers, the Female Spectator attacks many other types of lies, too, and while she says that she cannot list them all, she does list quite a few. She says,

> Every one knows that there are *Patriot* Lies,—*Ministerial* Lies,—*Screening* Lies,—*Accusative* Lies,—Lies to rouze the *Malecontent*, and Lies to beguile the *honest Enquirer*,—Lies to get rich Wives and

[52] Haywood's italics.
[53] Powell, *Performing Authorship*, 32.

> Husbands, and Lies to get rid of them afterwards;—Lies to *magnify*, and lies to *depreciate* public Credit, according as either serves the purpose of *Change Alley*;—Lies called *Private Intelligence* from *Fleets* and *Camps*;—Lies, that bear the Name of *Secret Histories*;—Lies, to sift dangerous *Truths* from the Mouths of the Unwary;—But there are other Lies, to which I shall not give an Epithet, much less pretend to define. (*FS*18, II:3, 201)

Earla Wilputte offers a detailed analysis of the political implications of this list and the various levels of significance of those implications.[54] Here, however, I would like to focus on the Female Spectator's mentioning of *'Secret Histories'*. This inclusion might have given readers pause since Eliza Haywood wrote 'secret histories' herself, including such works as *The British Recluse; or, the Secret History of Cleomira, Supposed Dead* (1724) and *The Secret History of the Present Intrigues of the Court of Caramania* (1727).[55] Although *The Female Spectator* was first published anonymously, Patrick Spedding says that 'it seems likely that Haywood was soon known to be the author', even though evidence of her authorship only dates from 1751 forward.[56] Therefore, readers who knew Haywood's reputation as a fiction writer—which they most surely would, considering the fame of *Love in Excess* (1719)—might begin to wonder how sincere her words could be if they include an attack on a genre in which she, herself, had indulged. Once again, readers are forced to face an appearance of hypocrisy that might elicit a suspicious

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[54] Wilputte, '"Too ticklish"', 136.
[55] For discussion of Haywood's 'secret histories', see Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, esp. 161-81; Rachel Carnell, 'Eliza Haywood and the Narratological Tropes of Secret History', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14.4 (2014): 101-21; Wilputte, 'Haywood's Tabloid Journalism'; Swenson, 'History'.
[56] Patrick Spedding, *Bibliography*, 432.

approach to the text and its authority. Granted, this type of suspicion was a standard part of the reading process, and Haywood's rhetorical move is not original, but, nevertheless, it engages the readers' judgment and opens up space for interpretation.[57]

It is through travel narratives, however, that the Female Spectator finally puts a fault line in the foundation of her authority. Although she previously included an obviously fictional travel narrative about Topsy-Turvy Island in Book 16, that narrative occurred before she attacked false travel narratives in her attack on lies. About false travel tales, she says this:

> There is a kind of Latitude, they say, given to Travellers to exceed the Truth, but I can by no Means allow it them, nor can imagine any Reason why they should expect it: We read Books of Voyages in order to bring us acquainted with the Customs and Manners of Nations remote from us, and which we have no Opportunity, or perhaps Inclination, to visit in Person; and if the Author, *on whom we depend*, deceives our Enquiries, and gives a fictitious Account instead of a real one, our Time in reading him would be, in my Opinion, as indifferently employed as on *Amadis de Gaul*, *Cassandra*, or any other Romance. (*FS*18, II:3, 183)[58]

This passage explicitly raises the issue of the readers' trust in the author, and it reflects the scepticism evoked by travel narratives in Early Modern England. As Barbara J. Shapiro puts it, 'Perhaps more than any of the other discourses of fact, travel reporting gave rise to elements of distrust. Thus travel reporting posed the

[57] Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 33-39.
[58] My emphasis.

greatest threat to the evolving discourses of fact. For if distrust was carried too far, all knowledge claims based on "matters of fact" would have become suspect and the disciplines of law, history, and the new empirical natural history might have disintegrated'.[59] This distrust stemmed from a long history of travel narratives that blurred fact and fiction and, at times, were hoaxes and shams. Kate Loveman gives detailed accounts of several, including *A True and Exact Relation of the Strange Finding Out of Moses his Tombe* by Thomas Chaloner (1656) and *The Isle of Pines* by Henry Neville (1668), the latter of which was 'the most celebrated hoax of the later seventeenth century'.[60] As with apparition narratives in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* and with historical discourse in *The Adventures of Eovaai* (and with natural philosophy in both), Haywood again engages with a male-dominated tradition that evokes the debate between scepticism and credulity. Travel narratives raise similar problems of *testimony* that I discussed in chapters one and two, wherein the credibility of the relator is central to authenticating the report.[61]

Perhaps it is not surprising then that when the Female Spectator follows her admonition against false travel tales with a travel narrative about a voyage to Summatra, she attempts to assure the reader of its credibility. Specifically, she claims that the narrative's '[v]eracity may be depended on' because she is acquainted with the 'gentleman' who wrote it. Her emphasis on his status as a 'gentleman' is important since, according to Steve Shapin, the title of 'gentleman'

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[59] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 84.
[60] Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 48-59 and 69-83. For a thorough account of 'travel liars', see Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962; repr. New York: Dover, 1980).
[61] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 70-72.

carried inherent credibility, and, in fact, it was the only title that did so.[62] She also points out that 'in this Gentleman's Narrative, we find nothing of those monstrous Descriptions some Books of Travels have given us' (*FS18,* II:3, 198). Furthermore, the report is presented as a first-person eye-witness account, which was an important component for credibility. Finally, the narrative includes many realistic details of topography, people, and culture. Each of these details are conventional elements for authenticating travel narratives, and many of these elements were the result of directions for careful travel reporting that were promoted by The Royal Society.[63] Despite these features, however, the Female Spectator offers no proof for the narrative. It is, perhaps, this lack of proof that leads her to anticipate some scepticism about one part of the tale that describes the native tribe's worship of an inanimate idol of their own creation. She says, 'You will say this is Infatuation; no doubt, whatever deviates from Reason and good Sense is so: But that not only private Persons, but whole Nations have been, and still are guilty of it, none that has heard, or seen any thing of the World can deny' (*FS*18, II:3, 199). As with her comments about factual truth in the Bible, the Female Spectator seems to suggest here that readers can and should accept the tale as true because it *could* be true. In other words, she suggests that the truth of the *idea*—combined with her own authority and her acquaintance with the contributor—should sufficiently affirm the truth of the tale. However, if her readers begin to question the narrative (and tradition suggests they would), then they might also begin to question the

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[62] A 'gentleman's' credibility is a central focus of Shapin's *Social History*, but see especially chapters two and three.

[63] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 72-73. McKeon, Origins, 100-17; See also Adams, *Travelers*, esp. 223-37. On the role of travel narratives 'promoting sustained verification of certain "truths" or "facts"', see Susan Lamb, *Bringing Travel Home to England: Tourism, Gender, and Imaginative Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 16.

Female Spectator, herself, something I argue Haywood is leading them to do. As I indicate above, the one bit of scepticism that the Female Spectator anticipates is about the story of the Idol that the 'Indians' built themselves and then worshipped, and the Female Spectator spends a full page defending the realism of this detail. Not only does she suggest that this kind of worship can be seen in the world by her readers, but also she observes that the Summatrans' idol is inanimate and therefore, cannot hurt anyone—unlike some of the animate examples she has observed closer to home, which are much worse. She says,

> Unanimated Idols will remain wherever they are placed by those that make them:—They have not the Power of deceiving or betraying us, nor can take any thing from us but what we are pleased to give, and which we also may resume if we think fit.—But when we create ourselves Deities of Flesh and Blood, and blindly resolve to obey their Dictates, and follow wheresoever they lead, we are in Danger of having our Morals corrupted by pernicious Example;—of our Understanding being imposed upon by their Artifices, and lying Strategems; and when they have rendered us ripe for Destruction, by the Forfeiture of our Honesty and Common Sense, we are in Danger of being either cajoled, or intimidated into yielding up, not only all we enjoy ourselves, (for that would scarce deserve Commiseration) but all the Rights also of our innocent Posterity, which, to the End of Time, may suffer for our Faults. (*FS*18, II:3, 199)

Although the editors of the Pickering and Chatto *Female Spectator* offer no notes about this passage or the rest of the paragraph in which it is included, it is difficult not to think of Robert Walpole, who Haywood satirizes in *The Adventures of*

Eovaai, as fitting this description of an animated idol—a 'deity of flesh and blood'—that can lead to betrayal and destruction. The passage also focuses on the issues of autonomy and deceit that dominate much of Haywood's work, including *The Adventures in Eovaai.*

Shortly after her discussion of idols, the Female Spectator suggests that she has digressed from her original subject of lying and deception; however, I would argue that her traveller's tale—along with her attack on animated idols—is not a digression at all but rather a part of her rhetorical strategy to challenge her readers to abandon their gullibility and their willingness to be deceived in both political and private matters. If we remember, the Female Spectator began Book 18 by indicating that she could not include the political letters of Alcander and Mr. Tell-Truth because of their political nature, and she laments the fact that, even if she had included Mr. Tell-Truth's letter, what he had written might not 'remove the Mist from [the Generality of the People's] long clouded Eyes' because 'we take Pleasure in being deceived' (*FS*18, II:3, 178). That is how the Female Spectator begins Book 18, and her discussion of idol worship does not, in fact, seem like a digression from her subject. Rather, it seems like a perfect example of the problem that she has chosen (not) to address. Nevertheless, by telling the tale, and then calling it a 'digression', she keeps political concerns in the minds of the readers while claiming that such concerns are not her subject. This strategy not only gives her some protection from accusations of seditious libel, but also it encourages, if not requires, the reader to take a more active role in interpreting the meaning of the text.

At the end of Book 18, the Female Spectator says it was to have been her last, but she says that she and her assistants have decided to continue because they

have received some worthwhile contributions and letters that deserve inclusion, the first of these being a contribution from Eumenes, whose previous letter from Book 16 includes the account of Topsy-Turvy Island that is purportedly transcribed from 'an old Book of Voyages' about a society which has many 'inversions' of British society. The narrative from Book 16 is clearly a satirical fiction, but neither Eumenes nor the Female Spectator acknowledges it to be such. In addition, the Female Spectator employs conventional rhetorical strategies to suggest that the letter writer, himself, is real. She claims that she and her fellow editors have chosen to omit a paragraph of his letter because they 'feared it might be taken as aimed at a particular Lady' (*FS*16, II:3, 116). Here, as in Book 8, Book 18, and elsewhere, the Female Spectator uses silence, censorship, and absence, creating what Earla Wilputte calls a 'heighten[ed] awareness' of 'selective reality'.[64] However, at the same time that Haywood uses this 'censorship' to open possibilities of ambiguity and interpretation, she also uses it to authenticate the letter. In other words, she uses absence to assert the reality of what is present. After all, if the letter were not real, why would she need to edit it? Of course, the indication that the letter is real does not necessarily mean that the travel report, itself, is true, especially since it is one source removed even from Eumenes, who says that he took the narrative from another book. In other words, the narrative is not based on an eye-witness account. The Female Spectator, herself, remains ambiguous on the veracity of the island tale. Even as she expresses curiosity about the island's politics after Eumenes' first letter and asks for further accounts, she also refers to the contribution as 'entertainment'. However, the first Topsy-Turvy tale in Book 16 does not create the rupture between author and reader, reader and

[64] Wilputte, '"Too ticklish"', 122.

text, that we find in Book 19 because, in short, the Female Spectator as the 'editor' has not yet devoted an entire chapter to the importance of truth-telling. In other words, the implications of fiction-presented-as-truth are not as rhetorically consequential in Book 16 as they are in Book 19. In addition, the narrative in Book 19, while quite obviously fictional, mirrors the conventions of the more realistic narrative of Summatra in Book 18, and the juxtaposition of these two tales casts additional suspicion on the Summatra narrative, thereby raising the potential for scepticism among readers. In his discussion of travel tales, Percy G. Adams describes the spectrum of travel 'lies' from those that are meant to deceive (like the hoaxes Loveman discusses) to those that are clearly fictional (like *Gulliver's Travels*), and McKeon points out that as travel stories became less fantastical, the truth of them became even more difficult to determine.[65] By juxtaposing a clearly fictional narrative with a dubious one, Haywood engages with this spectrum and the various types of reading called for by the text.

At the beginning of Book 19, the Female Spectator continues her focus on truth and trustworthiness. She begins by suggesting that some readers might suspect that she offers favouritism to some contributors over others—that she publishes her favourites while delaying the rest. She reassures readers that she and her collaborators publish letters in the order in which they are received and that the dates would give them away if they did not do so, saying 'Neither is it possible for any one to be deceived in this Point, were we capable of attempting it, because the Dates of the Epistles themselves would rise up against us' (*FS*19, II:3, 219). Of course, this assertion raises the question of whether or not the letter writers are real at all, and it leaves careful readers with the idea that dates can

[65] Adams, *Travelers*, 2-3; McKeon, *Origins*, 105-06.

easily be changed in the printing, and, therefore, it also leaves readers with the realization that such deception *is* possible. By starting with this dubious reassurance, the Female Spectator might lead readers to recall the discussion of Book 18, in which she says,

> To find oneself the Dupe of others, even in the most trivial Affairs, in my Opinion, is a very great Mortification, and such a one, as one should think, was scarce to be forgiven; yet in these degenerate Days, we pass over without Notice the having been beguiled and deceived in Things of the greatest Consequence, our whole Fortunes, Reputations, and our very Lives not excepted. (*FS*18, II:3, 200)

It is difficult for modern readers to read Book 19's introductory reassurance about fairness and veracity without a sense that it *is*, in fact, possible that they, as readers, are being duped about letters from contributors—as well as about other content in the text, and it seems that Eliza Haywood's readers would respond to Book 19 with a similar awareness. As Loveman argues, the early eighteenth-century readers were both astute and eager to identify 'shams'.[66] Perhaps a few readers would take her claims at face value, but for Haywood—or for the Female Spectator—taking things at face value is the exact problem of gullibility that she is trying to combat. In addition, it seems significant that Book 19 was published only two weeks after the publication of Book 18 whereas the other books were published at least a month apart. According to the publication dates offered by King and Pettit, the time between Books 18 and 19 is the shortest publication interval of any two books of the periodical during the entire publication run. The beginning of Book 19 seems, in fact, like an extension of Book 18.

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[66] Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 2-3 and 10-12.

After beginning Book 19 with the insistence that she is being fair to her readers, the Female Spectator inserts the contribution from Eumenes—another tale of Topsy-Turvy Island. And this time, Eumenes obliges the Female Spectator's earlier request to learn more about the island's government and laws. However, as before, we are reminded that Eumenes claims to be transcribing his narrative from another primary source, so the narrative itself is not Eumenes's own. In this way, the text about Topsy-Turvy Island is twice removed from the Female Spectator. This narrative apparatus is fairly conventional in fiction, and is found also in works like Haywood's *Adventures of Eovaai* and in Manley's *New Atalantis* (1709), but it was a common warning signal in a travel report.[67] The original relator of the tale also addresses the issue of deception when he admits that he is not able to recount all of the geographical details of the island since he 'arriv[ed] there by very extraordinary Means':

> It would, doubtless, be easy for me to supply this Deficiency by Invention, and pretend, to have said the Island is North of such a Place, and South of such a Place, being in no Danger of being confuted by any present or future Columbus; but I was bred in a Detestation of Deceit, and tho' I am yet arrived, after ten Years Travels, at not higher Post than a Midshipman, could not answer to my own Soul the Meanness of Lye in any Shape, or to answer any End. (*FS*19, II:3, 221)

Here, the narrator of the tale attempts to prove veracity by making reference to something that is absent, just as the Female Spectator has done elsewhere in her periodical. In addition, the topic of deception and 'lyes' is continued in this second

[67] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 64.

account of the Topsy-Turvyans, which, is, of course, a satire about English politics. However, because of the focus on truth in Book 18, regular readers of the periodical likely would have a heightened awareness of the discrepancy between the narrative of Book 19 and claims about the text and its reality. Lennard Davis has suggested that readers (and writers) of the time had a difficult time making distinctions between fact and fiction, but Loveman argues otherwise, saying that readers recognized the differences and saw it as their job to avoid being duped.[68] The Female Spectator, at least, has indicated that she recognizes the difference between truth and fiction, and, in Book 11, she specifically recognizes the distinction in the context of travel narratives, saying, 'Must we discredit all History because some Romances have born that title? Must we throw aside all Accounts of Voyages and Travels, because of those presented to us by *Sir John Mandevil*' (*FS*11, II:2, 376).[69] Yet, here, in her own travel tales, she employs conventions that blur history and romance and even thwart the distinction between the two, and by doing so, after the diatribe on deception in Book 18, she brings those very distinctions to the foreground for her readers, thus putting them in charge of the determination of fact and fiction, a required position for readers of travel reports.[70]

Since the account of the Topsy-Turvyans is a satire, it is also important to consider that satire falls into the category of one of the only types of deception that the Female Spectator accepts:

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[68] Davis, *Factual Fictions*, 76-77; Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 7. See also Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 89.
[69] Sir John Mandeville was the fictitious author of *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, published in in the fourteenth century. See C. W. R. D. Moseley, introduction *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. and ed. C. W. R. D. Moseley (New York: Penguin, 1983; rev. and repr. 2005), 9-42.
[70] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 64.

> A GENTEEL Raillery, which cannot give Offence, yet if played on a Person of Wit, will make them ashamed of saying any thing to incur it; and though I am no Friend to what they call Banter, Ridicule, or Irony, in any other Case, yet when it is made Use of to cure the Faults of those Persons we have no Authority to reprove, I think it highly laudable. (*FS*18, II:3, 203)

The Female Spectator has attacked false travel tales, but here she praises ironic narratives that challenge authority. Therefore, the reader is cued to the potential multi-voiced effects from this tale of Topsy-Turvy Island. Readers must begin with a heightened sense of the possibility that they might be duped by the very 'author' in whom they traditionally are meant to place their trust—an author who has spent a lot of time and textual space building up her authority. And, in addition, they are given a satire, which is the exact type of deception that the Female Spectator has indicated can be used to 'cure the Faults of those Persons we have no Authority to reprove'. It is therefore fitting, that the satire itself implicates two such sources of authority: the House of Hanover and Robert Walpole. This shift back to politics exploits the wariness she has elicited in her readers and directs that scepticism towards its more important target.

Although the tale of the Topsy-Turvyans includes satirical portrayals of many aspects of English culture and politics, there are two that are most relevant here. First, the narrator describes the Topsy-Turvyan structure of government as a type of 'Republic' run by viceroys: 'The Island, though governed by its own Laws, is a kind of an Appendix to a great Monarch on the Continent, by whom it had formerly been conquered' (*FS*19, II:3, 222). King and Pettit note that the description of the island's government seems to refer to rule in England by the

House of Hanover, and they indicate that eighteenth-century readers would have easily seen aspects of English politics in the account (*FS*19, II:3, 222n3). This assumption seems validated by the text itself, which says, 'But there is little Occasion to expatiate on this Fate, because every one knows the unhappy Situation of a Country, which, from being perfectly independent, is reduced to being no more than a Province to another'. Despite this condition, or perhaps because of it, the narrator says, 'The Present Race of the Topsy-Turvyans are, however, too indolent to reflect on their Misfortunes, and being by degrees subjected to the Yoke, seem quite contented under it' (*FS*19, II:3, 222). This statement—though in the voice of the narrator who is being transcribed by Eumenes—reflects previous comments in Book 18 by the Female Spectator about 'the Generality of People' that have 'mist-clouded eyes' and take 'pleasure in deception,' and this tale pursues this problem directly through satire of Robert Walpole, and, perhaps more importantly, through satire of the 'indolent' British subjects who have allowed him to rule.

This indolence is challenged when, towards the end of the account, readers are told of a conversation the traveller had with one of the few men of the island who 'had a greater Share of Reason' and could see clearly the 'Miseries of their Country' (*FS*19, II:3, 227). This man tells the narrator that, in the past, the islanders rose up against rulers who 'dar'd to exceed the Bounds a good Magistrate ought to observe', but that in recent times, a new Vice-Roy, Hiamack, has taken over the island and 'infatuated' its people by inviting them all to a banquet at which he served magic food to put them under a spell:

> [T]he curst Magician, by some infernal Recipe, had given to this food an infatuating Quality of so dire and mischievous a Nature, that not only those who eat of it, but all the Posterity which should descend

> from their Loins, from Generation to Generation, and from Age to Age, should be deprived of all Power of judging for themselves; of distinguishing between what is in their Interest, and what is not; and in fine, from that Time forward become dead to all Sense of what they were, or what they ought to be. (*FS*19, II:3, 227)

Hiamack seems to be a clear reference to Robert Walpole, an interpretation that is supported by King and Pettit (*FS*19, II:3, 228n5); however, most relevant to my argument is the characterization of the islanders who have fallen under his spell, much like the islanders in *Memoirs of an Uncertain Island Adjacent to Utopia* (1725) and the citizens of Hypotofa in *The Adventures of Eovaai*. The very trait that they have lost—'of judging for themselves'—is one that the Female Spectator returns to again and again through the entirety of her periodical (as she does throughout her career). She spends time on this issue in many books of *The Female Spectator*, including in Book 4, which focuses on the importance of solitude and reflection. At the end of Book 4, for example, she says, 'It is . . . the Business of every one, who would make a shining Figure in Life, avoid Inconveniences, reap any Benefits, enjoy any permanent Felicity themselves, or bestow it on others, to gain as perfect an Acquaintance as in them lies, by Thought and Application, both with what they are, and what they ought to attempt to be' (*FS*4, II:2, 151). The last line from this passage is echoed above in the description of what has happened to the Topsy-Turvyans who are under the spell of Hiamack and, by satirical implication, it describes what has happened to the British people under its recent and current rulers: they no longer have a sense of what they are or what they 'ought to be'.

The narrator of the tale does, however, question the story about the magic food, admitting that Hiamack may have known some recipe to affect those who attended the banquet, but he wonders how the subsequent generations could be affected, and he speculates that while the magic (or a chemical potion, since he confesses scepticism about the islanders' supernatural explanations) might have directly affected those at the banquet, their children must have been affected by the 'corrupt manners' of their fathers. Ultimately, regarding the cause of this on-going 'infatuation' and 'indolence' the narrator says, 'But to relate Matters, not *refine* upon them, is I take it the only Business of an Historian, *so I shall leave it to the Reader to judge* as he thinks most reasonable of the Cause of this Degeneracy of a once brave and nice people' (*FS*19, II:3, 229).[71] Again, the reader is confronted with a truth claim about the historical nature of the text, but perhaps more important, at this point, is that the interpretation of events is left to the readers. This point of interpretation is not just a matter of factual truth, but rather a matter of implications one might draw from the report. Shapiro notes that in the late seventeenth century, there was much debate about whether or not travel reporters should offer prescriptive comments based on their experiences (e.g., recommendations for changes to cultural behaviour or politics) or whether they should just stick to factual reporting. Some travel reporters were highly criticized for offering such instruction, and their narratives were labelled as both biased and fictional.[72] This is an interpretive role for which the Female Spectator has been preparing her readers, and she reiterates this at the end of her analysis regarding the Topsy-Turvyans:

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[71] Second italics mine.
[72] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 78-91.

> It behoves, therefore, every Individual of every Country in the World, whatever may be told them, or how much seeming Cause soever they may have to flatter themselves with an Assurance of Freedom, not to neglect searching, with the most enquiring and impartial Eye, into all that that passes; to examine into the most hidden Motives; and, disdaining to be guided by Appearances and fair Pretences, judge for themselves, and boldly declare their Approbation or Disapprobation of what is doing.
>
> This alone is true Liberty; for where Freedom of judging or speaking is a Crime, all other Indulgencies are but so many downy Linings, which at first may make the Yoke of Slavery seem soft and easy to be borne, which will wear away, when worn for any Length of Time, and then the rugged galling Load be felt with double Weight. (*FS*19, II:3, 231)

This passage is striking on a number of levels. First, it seems to challenge notions that *The Female Spectator* is—at its heart—a conservative conduct manual that prescribes conformity to precept and custom since here it affirms a liberal theory of government that relies on consent of the governed.[73] Although *The Female Spectator* has been read as one of Haywood's least sexually scandalous texts, its encouragement of autonomy for women challenges a conservative interpretation. The above passage offers a direct call for readers to challenge authority, which is particularly meaningful and possibly radical if we consider the common

[73] For readings of *The Female Spectator* as a conservative text, see James Hodges, '*The Female Spectator*, a Courtesy Periodical', in *Studies in the Early Periodical*, ed. Richmond P. Bond (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 151-182; Staves, *A Literary History*; Maurer, *Proposing Men*.

assumption that Haywood's central audience was women—that *The Female Spectator* was 'the first periodical for women by a woman'.[74] Pollock argues, in fact, that in *The Female Spectator*, Haywood actually *subverts* the conduct periodical genre, rather than fulfilling or imitating it.[75] Second, *The Female Spectator*, because of its challenge to male authority, continues the admonition that readers must judge information and circumstances for themselves and avoid being duped and deceived by others, no matter how seductive the deception might be (an admonition reiterated in *The Parrot*, which follows *The Female Spectator* by just several months). Third, it suggests a movement away from more authoritative earlier periodicals such as the *Tatler*, in which the editorial persona, Isaac Bickerstaff, says he hopes that readers might be 'instructed, after their Reading, what to think; Which shall be the End and Purpose of this my Paper'.[76] In contrast, the Female Spectator very explicitly argues that readers should think for themselves.

The Experimental Image

As I have shown in previous chapters, Haywood's texts suggest doubt about individuals' abilities to think for themselves in an effective way. In *The Female Spectator*, however, Haywood offers several possible processes for remedying, to some degree, the problems of judgment that she has previously emphasized. One of those processes, as I have analysed above, is sceptical reading, and another

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[74] Kathryn R. King, Introduction to *The Female Spectator*, by Eliza Haywood, ed. King and Pettit, 2. Although I would agree that Haywood's target audience seems to be women, especially at the beginning of the publication, the Female Spectator regulars speaks about the 'Generality of the People', and she claims in Book 1 that her 'Ambition [is] to be as universally read as possible' (*FS*1, II:2, 18).
[75] Pollock, *Gender and Fictions*, 14.
[76] Richard Steele, *The Tatler*, no. 1 (12 April 1709).

involves the reader's relationship to the 'experimental image'. Central to the pedagogy of *The Female Spectator* is the relationship between the author and the reader, a relationship that is mediated through the eidolon of the Female Spectator. A significant contribution of eighteenth-century periodicals is, in fact, this relationship, which has much in common with the relationship between theatre performers and their audience.[77] Haywood's experience in the theatre not only gives her experience with performance, but also gives her experience with the process of imagining a multiplicity of mindsets—something that *The Female Spectator* leads its readers to do by offering an 'experimental image' for its readers. Mikhail Bakhtin defines an 'experimental image' as the 'image of a speaking person', and he explains that when readers engage with such an image, they 'attempt to guess, to imagine, how a person with authority might conduct himself in the given circumstances, the light he would cast on them with his discourse'.[78] In an authorial note to his text, Bakhtin offers Socrates as an example of 'the wise man and teacher for the purpose of experiment'.[79] Some might resist the notion of comparing the Female Spectator's function to that of Socrates, but I would suggest that, for her readers, she, like Socrates, can be seen in terms of 'the image of a speaking person' whose judgment and thoughts are imagined and anticipated by readers. Manushag Powell makes a similar point when she defines 'eidolon'. She says that 'an eidolon in the Platonic sense is a projected image, the double phantom or simulacrum for a person. . . . It is the image of the author that is meant to be known to the reader'.[80] The Female Spectator, herself, suggests that her

[77] Powell, *Performing Authorship*, 43.
[78] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 79.
[79] Ibid., 79n7.
[80] Powell, *Performing Authorship*, 24.

readers are, indeed, *imagining* how she will respond to particular situations or 'what light she will cast' with her discourse. In Book 9 for example, in a response to a letter writer called 'John Careful' who writes on the abuses of tea, the Female Spectator says, 'I DARE say one Half of my Readers will expect me to be very angry at this Declamation against an Amusement my Sex are generally so fond of; but it is the firm Resolution of our Club to maintain strict Impartiality in these Lucubrations; and were any of us ever so deeply affected by the Satire, (which thank Heaven we are not) we should, notwithstanding, allow it to be just' (*FS*8, II:2, 283). So, before offering her club's response to the letter, she indicates that her readers will likely anticipate or expect a particular response from her. Shevelow alludes to this potential reaction from readers when she says, 'To a newly active readership, the periodicals provided images of themselves, textual manifestations of their identity as readers'.[81] If, for the readers, the Female Spectator operates as an experimental image upon which they can project possible discourse, then two things are happening: The readers are seeing her as an authority or 'author' of that imagined discourse, but, at the same time, they are creating and imagining a multiplicity of possible discourses for themselves, thereby internalizing the dialogic process and becoming 'authors' of interpretation—something that, I would argue, Eliza Haywood wants them to do. For Haywood, it seems, this process of imagining the judgments of others is a potential strategy for reaching an effective standard of judgment that is, perhaps, more reliable than sensory experience or isolated reflection. There is, of course, always the possibility of being wrong, but this exercise in intersubjectivity would offer, for example, a significant

[81] Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, 47.

impact on the bias of Justicia in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* and on the impressionable nature of Eovaai in the *Adventures of Eovaai*.

Although eidolons of earlier periodicals also functioned as experimental images (readers might wonder, for example, 'What would Isaac Bickerstaff say about this or that?'), their authoritative nature leads to a different effect than what we see in Haywood. Haywood builds relationships and readers' authority through her experimental image, but through this process, she is also teaching readers a particularly important strategy for judging well. As I have shown in chapters one and two, Haywood demonstrates extreme scepticism about individuals' ability to exercise their autonomy effectively, and she was not alone in her anxiety. John Locke shared this anxiety, and he also recognized that 'debilitating skepticism' was a true threat to self-government, the foundation element of a liberal democracy.[82] For Locke, the solution was in a 'faculty of judgment based on visible and tangible experience'.[83] However, as I have demonstrated in previous chapters, Haywood seems quite suspicious of the sensory perceptions that come from 'visible and tangible experience'. Douglas Casson says that 'Locke sought to shape the way his readers form judgments and deliberate over matters of public importance', and in this chapter, I argue that Haywood does the same.[84] However, whereas Locke develops a standard of judgment based on sensory experience, Haywood's standard is based more on rationalism and one's ability to imagine and evaluate multiple judgments.

Haywood's use of the experimental image trains her readers to transcend conclusions based on flawed sensory perception and biased reflection while also

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[82] Casson, *Liberating Judgment*, 1.
[83] Ibid., 22.
[84] Ibid., 4.

training them to resist the undue influences of others. Karen Bloom Gevirtz claims that in *The Tea Table*, Haywood is interested in a combination of both the 'group endeavor' and the contribution of the 'independent individual' in the pursuit of knowledge.[85] She says, 'Ultimately, Haywood's *Tea Table* proposes that although neither the wholly social self nor the wholly isolated self can generate reliable knowledge, the self can generate reliable knowledge when it balances mental and emotional detachment with mental and social engagement'.[86] The detachment part of this balance can often be seen in Haywood's work when characters retire in solitude to have the 'liberty of reflection', a phrase used by Alovysa in *Love in Excess* (1719).[87] In fact, Book 4 of *The Female Spectator* focuses on solitude and emphasizes the benefit of retirement as a time to think. However, such moments of solitude can be fraught by an individual's narrow thinking or by the undue influence of recent company. For example, in *The Adventures of Eovaai*, during her moments of reflection, Eovaai tends to think in whatever way is most like that of the last person with whom she has spoken, whether they be libertine or republican. She is very easily influenced. The benefit of *The Female Spectator*, it seems, is that it provides an opportunity for both engagement and reflection. Readers are able to imagine what the 'author' thinks about a particular issue without being immediately dominated by the external influence of that author. This process enhances readers' ability to imagine other judgments and even other minds. There are elements of Haywood's writing, especially in later texts, that are similar to and even prefigure thinkers like Adam Smith, whose ideas of judgment and autonomy rely on intersubjectivity rather than totally self-reliant thinking. As

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[85] Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 111.
[86] Ibid., 114.
[87] Haywood, *Love in Excess*, 96.

Hina Nazar puts it in *Enlightened Sentiments: Judgment and Autonomy in the Age of Sensibility*,

> On Smith's interpretation, other people hold the key also to the impartial standpoint that individuals must cultivate in order to make judgments. Frequently personifying this standpoint as the 'impartial spectator', the 'man within the breast', the 'inhabitant of the breast', 'the great judge and arbiter of our conduct' . . . , Smith traces morality to sociability, to the social experience of viewing and being viewed. On this understanding, we begin subjective life as spectators of other people, and our first judgments of right and wrong concern the conduct and sentiments of other people.[88]

The benefits of impartiality that Nazar describes have been in the foreground of Haywood's work since *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, but in *The Female Spectator*, she moves further towards establishing the 'inhabitant of the breast' within her readers. In Haywood's periodical, the experimental image, along with the larger community of the periodical, allows readers to practise a kind of 'enlarged mentality', even as they maintain their own opportunities for reflection.[89] This is not just a one-way process, either. The Female Spectator also imagines her readers, stating at times what she thinks they might be thinking. This process of imagining the judgments of others can decrease the biased, short-sighted, and self-interested types of judgment that Haywood problematizes in texts like *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* and *The Adventures of Eovaai*, and, as I will show in chapter four,

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[88] Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments*, 53.

[89] Hannah Arendt translates Kant's '*eine erweiterte Denkungsar*' as 'enlarged mentality' or 'enlarged thought,' in Hannah Arendt, 'The Crisis in Culture: Its Social and Political Significance', in *Judgment, Imagination, and Politics: Themes from Kant and Arendt* (Lanham, Maryland: Roman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001), 20.

Haywood pursues this strategy further in *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* (1753).

Conclusion

In my first two chapters, I focused on Haywood's engagement with the concerns of natural philosophers in order to examine her scepticism and attitudes towards judgment. In *The Female Spectator*, Haywood begins to mitigate her scepticism—not through sensory experience (as the natural philosophers do), but through the development and privileging of the intersubjectivity between the eidolon and her readers. Specifically, Haywood develops readers' judgment by eliciting their interaction with an experimental image (thereby enlarging their thoughts) and by invoking their scepticism of authority as she first constructs an authoritative voice and then, later, deconstructs that authority in order to decentre it. Central to the pedagogy of this periodical is Haywood's employment of travel narratives, which not only trigger the sceptical reading habits of her audience but also Haywood's engagement with an important and common discourse that was defined and dominated by men.

In addition to teaching strategies for judgment, the employment of the 'experimental image' develops readers' imagination, thus drawing a connection between judgment and imagination, periodicals and fiction. In the introduction to *Fair Philosopher: Eliza Haywood and 'The Female Spectator'*, editors Lynn Marie Wright and Donald J. Newman state, 'The connections between *The Female*

Spectator and Haywood's fiction . . . have yet to be explored at length'.[90] This neglect might, in part, stem from the way early critics like Clara Reeves tended to conflate the titular persona of the text with the true voice of Eliza Haywood, concluding that the differences between *The Female Spectator* and Haywood's early novels could be explained by the fact that Eliza Haywood, the author, had reformed her scandalous and promiscuous ways.[91] However, by making a clear distinction between Haywood and her eidolon, one can better see how Haywood uses her fictional eidolon to evoke both the judgment and imagination of her readers, increasing their capacity for both and 'provid[ing] a template for what would become novelistic discourse at mid-century'.[92]

Readers might expect *The Female Spectator* to be a didactic periodical that is easily finalized by a clearly authoritative reading, and some scholars, as I noted above, have read it this way. However, by looking at the development of this periodical over its two-year run, one can see Haywood moving toward something much more dialogic and polyphonic than what readers encountered in earlier authoritative essay-periodicals. The dialogic performance that one finds in *The Female Spectator*—a performance that ends with the author encouraging readers to think, and *interpret*, for themselves—is central not only to Haywood's philosophical purpose but also to her developing aesthetic of the novel. Paula Backscheider has insisted that Haywood's 'sophisticated understanding of reader-

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[90] Lynn Marie Wright and Donald J. Newman, introduction to *Fair Philosopher: Eliza Haywood and 'The Female Spectator'*, in Wright and Newman, *Fair Philosopher*, 31.

[91] Clara Reeves, *The Progress of Romance, Through Times, Countries and Manners with Remarks on the Good and Bad Effects of it, on them Respectively; in a Course of Evening Conversations* (London: Printed for the Author by W. Keymer, Colchester, and sold by him; sold also by G. G. J. and J. Robinson in Pater-noster Row, 1785), 120-21.

[92] Pollock, *Gender and Fictions*, 7.

response . . . places her with the great male writers of her time, including Richardson, Fielding, and Sterne, who were exploring author-reader relationships and fictional conventions'.[93] Haywood's sophistication in this regard is evident in *The Female Spectator*, which is innovative in its employment of an eidolon in a way that resists the 'paternalistic control' of earlier essay-periodicals, develops the judgment of its readers, and, finally, both invokes and develops the fictionality of the novel tradition.[94]

[93] Backscheider, 'The Story', 28-29.
[94] Pollock, *Gender and Fictions*, 5.

CHAPTER FOUR:

SOCIABLE JUDGMENT IN *THE HISTORY OF JEMMY AND JENNY JESSAMY*

Eliza Haywood's final novel, *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* (1753) is a less sceptical work than the other texts studied in this thesis, and, as a result, it puts less pressure upon the reader to make judgments in the face of indeterminacy. Instead, Haywood offers a heroine, Jenny Jessamy, who demonstrates nearly perfect judgment. Therefore, instead of creating a crisis for the reader, Haywood offers a *model* for the reader, demonstrating several strategies for determining truth. Specifically, Jenny Jessamy, the heroine, employs the position of doubt that Justicia (from *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*) fails to demonstrate, she exercises the autonomy that Eovaai failed to achieve, and she advances the enlarged mentality that Haywood introduced in *The Female Spectator*. Because Jenny, herself, demonstrates a properly sceptical and impartial attitude, she avoids being duped and manipulated in the ways other Haywood characters so often are; therefore, although the novel is still participating in the sceptical tradition, it demonstrates a greater confidence in one's ability to detect deception and evade manipulation. As a result, it suggests tentative solutions to the crises of judgment that so often trouble both Haywood's characters and her readers. Central to these tentative solutions are sociability and intersubjectivity.

As I have noted in earlier chapters, Haywood regularly places value on solitude as a time for reflection, but such solitary reflection can be problematic when an individual's judgment is corrupted by insular thinking or by overreliance on the influence of recent company (as, for example, Eovaai's so often is). When Jenny Jessamy is engaged in solitary reflection, however, she regularly uses her

imagination to enter multiple standpoints in order to increase her chances for impartiality. Therefore, Jenny demonstrates practices that foreshadow Adam Smith's impartial spectator, Immanuel Kant's 'enlarged mentality', and Hannah Arendt's idea of 'going visiting' (which, to a great degree, is Arendt's interpretation of Kant). Each of these thinkers' concepts differ, of course. For example, Kant's concept of the 'enlarged mentality' is stimulated by aesthetics, whereas Smith's 'impartial spectator' is stimulated by sentiment.[1] And Arendt's theory focuses on the political rather than the personal. Although I do not want to blur the distinctions between these concepts, they share the sociability of judgment that one finds in *Jemmy and Jenny*. Since Haywood's novel precedes the work of these philosophers, none of these concepts were firmly shaped before its publication; therefore, Haywood's ideas do not fit neatly within the constraints of any one of these theories of judgment, but I aim to show that their concepts and vocabulary can help describe processes of judgment that have been overlooked in Haywood's last novel and that prefigure the interests of later writers. A specific distinction between Haywood's novel and the theories of Kant and Arendt is that Haywood is focused on the private sphere. However, with my application of these theorists, I follow the lead of Vivasvan Soni and Hina Nazar, who have applied Kantian and Arendtian ideas of judgment to fictional private spheres. Soni has relied on these concepts to analyse judgment in *Emile* and *Pride and Prejudice*, and Hina Nazar relies on them to analyse judgment in multiple eighteenth-century works and in

[1] For a discussion of Kant's focus on aesthetics, see Hannah Arendt, 'Postscriptum to Thinking', in *Hannah Arendt: Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy*, ed. Ronald Beiner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 4; For a discussion of Kant's enlarged mentality and Hannah Arendt's discussion of 'going visiting', see Arendt's 'Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy', in *Hannah Arendt*, ed. Beiner: 42; Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 6th ed. (London: Printed for A. Strahan; and T. Cadell in the Strand; and W. Creech, and J. Bell & Co. at Edinburgh, 1790).

Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*.[2] Similarly, I will rely on these concepts as I characterize judgment in *Jemmy and Jenny*.

Another component to the sociability of judgment in *Jemmy and Jenny* is its regular invocation of the processes and vocabulary of the legal system. Throughout Haywood's oeuvre, one of her central concerns is the problem of knowing the truth about another person's mind or heart. As we saw in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, this was the problem that led people to seek the help of Duncan Campbell: he alone had the ability to know what people were thinking and what actions they were intending to take. Although the processes of the legal system do not involve reading minds, *per se*, criminal trials required determinations about motive and intent. As Alexander Welsh puts it, 'The process of ascertaining motive or intent from the outside held new implications for the way individuals were perceived and perceived themselves'.[3] Furthermore, the legal system, as Barbara J. Shapiro argues, offered 'the highest standard of proof that is possible in human affairs'.[4] Throughout Haywood's novel, Jenny seeks to determine people's motives, and she must make inferences from circumstantial evidence. Vivasvan Soni refers to this process as an imaginative or 'fictive' leap from facts to narrative.[5] Although Soni, himself, does not make connections between his ideas of imaginative capacity and the processes of law, his focus on the fact-to-narrative process echoes Welsh's argument about the significance of the 'strong representations' used to determine

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[2] See Soni, 'Committing Freedom'; Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments*; Hina Nazar, 'The Imagination Goes Visiting: Jane Austen, Judgment, and the Social', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 59.2 (2004): 145-78.
[3] Alexander Welsh, *Strong Representations: Narrative and Circumstantial Evidence in England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 38.
[4] Barbara J. Shapiro, 'Beyond a Reasonable Doubt', in *Fictions of Knowledge: Fact, Evidence, and Doubt*, ed. Yota Batsaki, Subha Mukherji, and Jan-Melissa Schramm (London: Palgrave, 2012), 30.
[5] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 3.

truth about crime. These 'strong representations' are narratives based on chains of inferences, which are themselves based on facts or 'circumstantial evidence'.[6] As Welsh and Shapiro both point out, in the eighteenth century there was increasing distrust of testimony (a distrust evident in *Eovaai*), and therefore individual inferences or *narratives* that derived from circumstantial evidence became seen as a more reliable way to reach truth. In *Jemmy and Jenny*, we see Jenny, along with other characters, attempt to knit together individual pieces of evidence in order to discover a narrative that makes sense. At other times, rather than crafting a narrative to discover truth, Jenny listens to narratives from other people in order to judge their motives and actions. Throughout the text, Jenny is in the role of spectator and judge, and the novel invokes the language of the law as Jenny deliberates.

As early as the mid-1720s, Haywood had shown interest in the problems of law,[7] and by the early 1750s, when she was writing *Jemmy and Jenny*, her former collaborator Henry Fielding was a magistrate in London, and he was writing about law and legal cases in pamphlets as well as in his periodical, *The Convent Garden Journal*.[8] At the same time, legal cases like the Cresswell Bigamy Case (which Haywood fictionalises in *Dalinda; or, A Double Marriage* [1749]) and the Elizabeth Canning case (which began the same month *Jemmy and Jenny* was published and which Haywood discusses in *The Invisible Spy*) were captivating the public. Although I do not mean to suggest a direct cause-and-effect influence between Fielding's work and Haywood's, I do mean to point out how, through her use of

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[6] Welsh, *Strong Representations*, 8-9.
[7] King, *Political Biography*, 48.
[8] Lance Bertelsen, *Henry Fielding at Work: Magistrate, Business Man, Writer* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 17.

legal language, Haywood employs a vocabulary that was becoming dominant in the public sphere, and that in *Jemmy and Jenny* Haywood, once again, is engaged with a primarily male discourse that directly relates to public problems of epistemology and judgment. In addition, her reliance on the legal system contributes to her mitigation of scepticism since there was no room for extreme doubt in the realm of law. As Barbara Shapiro puts it,

> Litigation is not compatible with a skepticism so extreme that nothing can be known and no decision be worthy of acceptance. English law of the early modern era existed in an epistemological space of probability, reasonable doubt, and moral certainty in which decision making could not be delayed indefinitely on the grounds of insufficiently certain knowledge.[9]

Or, as Shapiro puts it elsewhere, 'The legal arena was not one that allowed lawyers, judges, or jurors the option of throwing up their hands in skeptical doubt'.[10] As in the courts, justice and judgment in the private sphere cannot be suspended forever; therefore, the legal model is a fitting one as Jenny Jessamy seeks truth about human motives and actions.

In this chapter, therefore, I demonstrate several ways in which judgment operates in *Jemmy and Jenny*. First, however, I discuss the novel's unwarranted neglect, and I challenge readings that dismiss the novel's central narrative as pointless, arguing instead that its interest in judgment, self-knowledge, and autonomy make it noteworthy. Then, in order to demonstrate the degree of deception that the novel's heroine must uncover, I analyse the methods and

[9] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 31.
[10] Ibid., 65.

motives of her deceiver, Bellpine, showing that he uses strategies conventional to eighteenth-century shams and hoaxes. Subsequently, in a close reading of Jenny's examination of two letters, I analyse how she employs an enlarged mentality, thereby demonstrating the impartiality that has been so elusive for characters in earlier Haywood texts. In further support of my argument that the novel privileges sociable judgment and that it is more unified than has been previously argued, I show how the novel's sentimental, interpolated tales further develop Jenny's ability to function as an impartial spectator. Finally, I analyse how Haywood's employment of legal discourse makes visible her engagement with that discourse and, at the same time, I demonstrate how she uses it as a valuable, sociable framework for mitigating scepticism.

Reading the Novel, Self, and Others

John Richetti has noted that *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* is the most neglected of Haywood's later works.[11] This neglect is unjustified and should be remedied. The novel is important because of its focus on judgment, narration, and the autonomy of women. Deborah Nestor and Karen Cajka are two of the few critics who have studied *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, but they have focused on its three interpolated tales of 'unprotected women' (as Cajka calls them) instead of on the central plotline about Jenny Jessamy.[12] Nestor, in fact, has implied that the central plotline about Jenny is pointless. She says, 'In this novel,

[11] John Richetti, introduction to *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, by Eliza Haywood (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005), xviii. Further references to the text will be to this edition, and will be cited in-text by page number.

[12] Karen Cajka, 'The Unprotected Woman in Eliza Haywood's The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy', in *Masters of the Marketplace: British Women Novelists of the 1750s*, ed. Susan Carlisle (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2011), 47-58.

the rather uneventful plot concerning the long-arranged marriage between the exemplary Jenny and her cousin Jemmy merely serves as a frame for a collection of tales representing contemporary life. In this sense, the novel bears a greater structural resemblance to texts like Haywood's *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746) and *The Wife* (1756) than to other novels published at the time'.[13] Cajka agrees with Nestor that the interpolated tales are 'far more interesting than the travails of Jemmy and Jenny'.[14] Although the novel is more episodic than something like *Betsy Thoughtless*, and the interpolated tales are, in fact, interesting, Nestor's assessment undervalues the importance of the novel's central plotline, along with its relationship to the interpolated tales. Nestor seems to echo complaints like those about the works of Jane Austen, for example, that lament that 'nothing happens in *Emma*'. I am not, of course, equating *Jemmy and Jenny* with *Emma,* or Haywood with Austen; however, Haywood's themes of imagination, judgment, and self-knowledge, combined with her focus on the heroine's thinking processes, prefigure the concerns of novels like Austen's, and, therefore, the central plotline should not be dismissed quite so neatly.[15]

As the novel begins, we learn that Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy (distant cousins who have shared common surnames from birth) have been promised to each other in marriage since their childhoods, both of their parents having been 'resolved on marriage between their children, provided that when they arrived at years of maturity, neither of them should have an objection to such a union' (8).

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[13] Deborah J. Nestor, 'Virtue Rarely Rewarded: Ideological Subversion and Narrative Form in Haywood's Later Fiction', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 34.3 (1994), 589.
[14] Cajka, 'The Unprotected Woman', 46.
[15] Although to be fair, at least one early reviewer agreed with Nestor, saying that the novel has 'no plot' and that 'the whole languishes for want of engaging and natural sentiments', qtd. in Spedding, *Bibliography*, 568.

We are told that 'Jemmy, who had four years the advantage of Jenny, was taught to call her his little wife, even while in her cradle, and Jenny no sooner began to speak than she was made to say she loved her husband Jemmy in her heart' (9). Not long after Jemmy's father dies (three years after Jenny's does), he begins to speak of marriage, saying, 'Then I suppose there is nothing left for us to do . . . but sign and seal, and go together before a parson' (27). Jenny, however, does not agree. Instead, she advocates that they suspend the act of marriage for a year in order to observe everything and everyone around them to gain knowledge and experience about the married state.

This idea strikes Jenny after she visits several different friends who have experienced sudden and extreme marital conflict and confusion. The surprising turns in these marriages alarm Jenny and give her pause, so she proposes her plan to delay the wedding. Specifically, Jenny argues that she and Jemmy should wait a bit longer in order to 'be certain within ourselves of never repenting the engagement we are about to enter into' (27). Jemmy protests, claiming that 'there is no danger of that' and that he is already sure he will be a good husband and she will be a good wife. But Jenny responds, '"That is all as chance directs . . . . [W]e may think perfectly well at one time, and act very ill at another; in fine, my dear Jemmy"—continued she,—"I think we ought to know a little more of the world and ourselves before we enter into serious matrimony"' (27). With this, she makes her case for suspending judgment (and action) while they observe the marriages of others, collecting knowledge all along the way. In addition, they agree to report back to each other, sharing everything they have learned. Thus, Jenny rejects custom and precept in favour of experience and reflection.

Jenny has a judgment to make about marriage, and she is concerned that she will judge poorly—not because she has a history of poor judgment herself but because she has seen so many other people's judgments turn out badly in the end. She recognizes that it is difficult to truly know one's self and perhaps even more difficult to know other people, and she wants to 'be certain' about the right thing to do. In her original plan, it seems that she hopes to sit on the side lines of the action, suspending her own decisions, taking notes as she maintains the role of spectator, perhaps like one of Haywood's other spectators or spies. But circumstances do not allow Jenny or Jemmy to do that. Instead, in short order, both she and Jemmy are forced to figure out what is right and true regarding their love and trust for each other. Regardless of her original intentions, Jenny is pushed out of the role of judging spectator and into the role of an actor who must still make judgments. Therefore, her spectating differs from that which one finds, for example, in *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, *The Female Spectator*, and *The Invisible Spy* because Jenny is spectating not to report secrets or publish tales, but to gain knowledge for the express purpose of her own improvement. This pressure demonstrates the difficulty and, at times, impossibility of suspending judgment in the context of human affairs. It also creates the crisis that forces Jenny to engage in the true process of judgment, and it creates an opportunity for the narrative development and exploration that show how one can become an impartial spectator in one's own life so that one can effectively exercise one's autonomy.

Richetti says that Haywood's last novel is of interest because of its balance between the 'objective moralism of the narrator and the subjective growth in specifically novelistic terms of its heroine's response to her experiences in a particularized social world' (xxxiii). He characterizes the narrative tone and

commentary as varying from 'light social satire to psycho-sexual and moral ruminations' (xx). As a result of this reading, he suggests that the following passage from the narrator is 'an odd comment, in a book where social comedy and satire dominate':

> There are so many secret windings, such obscure recesses in the human mind, that it is very difficult, if not wholly impossible, for speculation to arrive at the real spring or first mover of any action whatsoever.
>
> How indeed should it be otherwise, as the most virtuous and the most vicious propensities of nature are frequently in a more or less degree lodged and blended together in the same composition, and both equally under the influence of a thousand different passions, which disguise and vary the face of their operations, so as not to be distinguish'd even by the persons themselves. (136)

Richetti explains this 'odd comment' from the narrator by suggesting that it is Haywood's way of balancing the 'dark threatening realities of lust and avarice' with the 'bright sophistication of the narrator'.[16] Richetti also suggests that, with this balance, Haywood turns away from the 'version of romance and sexual sensationalism' that can be observed in her earlier novels from the 1720s.

Although Richetti is right about Jenny's engagement with a 'particularized social world', I would suggest that 'moralism' is not the most apt descriptor of the narrator's tone and that, in fact, Haywood and her narrator seem more concerned with prudence than with morality. Most importantly, I would argue that the above passage is not an oddity in the text, but rather that it identifies a central concern of

[16] Richetti, introduction to *Jemmy and Jenny*, xxi.

the text—that concern being the characters' struggles to determine the motives of others *and* themselves. The problem of obscure 'motives' is one that Haywood's earlier texts struggle to resolve, and it is also one that multiple mid-eighteenth-century novels explore.[17] With *Jemmy and Jenny*, Haywood finds a potential answer to the problem of these 'secret springs' of action through the development of an 'enlarged mentality' through which she can both enter the standpoint of others and also examine her own thoughts and feelings with a sense of distance. As Hina Nazar puts it, 'By becoming spectators of the passions or feelings that motivate our actions, and that comprise our reactions to the actions of others . . . we become capable of judging the validity of those actions and reactions. As such, we become capable of autonomy or the independence that arrives from using one's own judgment'.[18] Nazar's reference to passion and feelings suggests sentimentalism. George Frisbie Whicher, one of the earliest Haywood scholars, calls The *History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* a 'domestic novel' that was 'popular with sentimental readers' and says that it was 'so far calculated to stir the sensibilities that a most touching turn in the lovers' affairs is labelled as "not fit to be read by those who have tender ears or watry eye"'.[19] He criticizes the novel, saying it has 'little merit as a piece of realism', that it 'never penetrates beyond externalities', and that 'the sentiments of [Haywood's] characters are as inflated as those of a Grandison'.[20] Mary Anne Schofield agrees with Whicher that the novel 'has no plot', but she adds

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[17] For references to 'springs' and 'motives' of action, see for example, Henry Fielding, *Jonathan Wild* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7; Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 238; Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa, or, The History of Young Lady* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 71. On motives, see also Alexander Welsh, *Strong Representations*, 38; Jonathan Kramnick, *Actions and Objects*, 54-55.

[18] Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments*, 13.

[19] Whicher, *Eliza Haywood*, 146.

[20] Ibid., 147.

the assessment that it 'an intensely moral tale'.[21] She acknowledges that Jenny is a 'thinking female', but she equates her with Betsy Thoughtless from *The History of Betsy Thoughtless* (1751) and Louisa, from *The Fortunate Foundlings* (1744),[22] characters from whom Jenny Jessamy differs greatly. Susan Staves also includes *Jemmy and Jenny* in a discussion of Haywood's 'moral novels', labelling it 'sentimental fiction', and James Joseph Howard says that with her last novels, Haywood became 'a purveyor of the domestic novel of manners'.[23] In contrast to these readings, I argue that the novel as a whole is not sentimental. Although the interpolated tales focus on feeling and sympathy, Jenny's reasoning about her own marriage is not based on sentiment. In fact, one of the innovative elements of this novel is the contrast (and complement) between Jenny's reason-based judgment regarding her own affairs, and the sentimental nature of the narratives from the 'unprotected women'. As I will show, Jenny's encounters with the 'women of feeling', as one might call them, are a significant part of the novel's pedagogy about how to become an impartial spectator and effective judge rather than an individual driven by the immediacy of passion and feeling, but the novel as a whole is not driven by sentiment.

It might seem strange to discuss serious philosophies of judgment in the context of a mediocre, eighteenth-century courtship novel. However, I would suggest that the nature of such novels—with their plethora of distrust, deceit, passion, and consequences that, especially for women, could make the difference

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[21] Mary Anne Schofield, *Quiet Rebellion: The Fictional Heroines of Eliza Fowler Haywood* (Washington DC: University Press of America, 1982), 114.
[22] Ibid., 114.
[23] Staves, *A Literary History*, 236; James Joseph Howard, *The English Novel's Cradle: The Theatre and the Women Novelists of the Long Eighteenth Century* (Riverside: UC Riverside Thesis and Doctoral Dissertations, 2010), 79.

between happiness and despair, life and death—are the perfect proving ground for the practice and value of judgment. With this reading, I resist Shawn Lisa Maurer's suggestion that a narrative about choosing a marriage partner implicitly undermines 'female authority' because it 'rests upon a foundation of domesticity that ironically posits men at the center of women's existence'.[24] Rather, I suggest that such narratives provide the context and content for exploring elements of female (or male) authority, autonomy, and judgment. As Hina Nazar puts it when speaking of Jane Austen, 'Her understanding of marriage in particular as companionate marriage rather than the 'elective affinity' of the culture of sensibility imports the vocabulary of reason, judgment, and justice into the private sphere'.[25] Jenny Jessamy, herself, says, 'Marriage . . . is the great action of our lives—the hinge on which happiness or misery, while we have breath, depends' (376), and Soni implies the same in his analysis of Rousseau's *Emile* and Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, in which the central decisions of each rest on the question of whom to marry. Soni claims that *Pride and Prejudice* is 'unsurpassed as a model for understanding the practice of judgment' (371). For his evidence, he focuses on Elizabeth Bennet's reading and re-reading of Mr. Darcy's letter, the letter that leads her to re-evaluate her previous judgments (or prejudices) about both Mr. Wickham and Mr. Darcy. Specifically, Soni argues that what Austen recognizes about judgment is that sensory details, or data, in and of themselves are insufficient for judgment and that one must have a narrative in which to put those data before a judgment can be made. Soni says,

[24] Maurer, *Proposing Men,* 214.
[25] Nazar, 'The Imagination Goes Visiting', 174.

> If first impressions are misleading, it is precisely because they are not yet a narrative, but mere data and bits of information. It requires the imaginative power of judgment to constitute them into a narrative. Austen shows us how indispensable the fictioning power of the imagination is to good judgment. To read, in this context, is not to collect facts or process data, but to read a narrative.[26]

The key shift between Elizabeth Bennet's first and second reading of Darcy's letter is that Elizabeth alters the narrative by which she interprets the data. Upon the second reading, she approaches the letter with a new narrative—or hermeneutic—that Wickham is a scoundrel, and thus she forms, or at least begins to consider, different narratives and judgments about both Wickham and Darcy. In order to do this, she must think back to past events and observations (to the data, or, one might say, pieces of circumstantial evidence) and reinterpret them—to imagine that they mean something different from what she first considered them to mean. Central to Elizabeth's capacity to create a new narrative, however, is her imagination combined with her ability to revisit the data she used to form her first narrative. Granted, some of that information comes from Wickham's testimony, but her first narratives about Wickham and Darcy also stem from her own experiences and observations of their actions and demeanour, and even after reading the letter, she continues to test the competing narratives against her own experience. As Soni points out, it is this 'co-constitutive structure of fictionality and experience' that is required for 'producing good judgment'.[27] In Haywood's *Jemmy and Jenny*, Jenny relies on this same 'co-constitutive structure'.

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[26] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 379.
[27] Ibid., 371.

The 'Springs' of Deception

Volume II of *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* begins with the passage noted earlier in this chapter in which the narrator says, 'There are so many secret windings, such obscure recesses in the human mind, that it is very difficult, if not wholly impossible, for speculation to arrive at the real spring or first mover of any action whatsoever' (136). Despite the near impossibility of divining the motives of people's actions, many characters in the novel find themselves in the position of trying to do just that. Jemmy, for example, tries (and fails) to understand why Liberia behaves so coldly to him the morning after their passionate night together. Also, Lady Speck thinks she knows what motivates both Celadine and Jenny to stay at home while all of the others go abroad (but she is wrong). And, perhaps most importantly, Jenny tries to understand why someone would attempt to destroy her relationship with Jemmy. (She discovers the truth, but it takes time.) Like Haywood's other works, the novel contains multiple incidents of deception that must be resisted and discovered, and before I analyse Jenny Jessamy's penetration into that deception, it is necessary to detail the extent of her imposer's machinations. It is significant that the deception she faces is carefully planned and orchestrated because that makes it all the more clear that her strategies for penetration and judgment are so effective, and so distinctive from those in other Haywood texts.

The deception at the heart of the novel is Bellpine's elaborate scheme to make Jenny believe that Jemmy no longer intends to marry her but instead has serious intentions to marry a musician named Miss Chit. In the novel, the readers receive a clear account of the steps that Bellpine takes to impose upon Jenny (and,

incidentally, Jemmy, Miss Chit, and, really, much of London and Bath). Being very skilled at deception, Bellpine knows that if he merely asserts the lie directly through his own testimony, he risks resistance. Therefore, he uses schemes that involve anticipating and exploiting typical strategies for evidence gathering. The narrator explains,

> It is easy for persons capable of inventing falsehoods to propagate them in such a manner as to make them pass current for a time, and yet avoid any detection of their being the authors of it; it is not by saying directly a thing is so, that a story so much gains credit, as by half words,—winks,—nods, and other such like gestures;—these are the traps which catch the unwary, and give an air of reality to that which has no existence. Bellpine at least was well versed in this art . . . . Whenever this subject was mention'd to Bellpine, as it frequently so happen'd, he affected to hang down his head and be entirely silent . . . . (72-73)

Clearly, Bellpine is a master of deception not in small part because of his skills in 'theory of mind'. He understands how others will 'read' particular facial expressions and behaviours that serve as subtext for dialogue, and he is able to artificially produce those expressions and 'gestures' that will lead to the desired interpretations by his audience. Like Jenny, Bellpine demonstrates an enlarged mentality in that he imagines the thoughts of others, especially what they will feel and think as they observe him. In other words, he is imagining what they, as spectators, will imagine, and he is planting circumstantial evidence for them to interpret.

In 'Lying Bodies of the Enlightenment', Lisa Zunshine argues that there is a paradox in our reading of body language, a paradox that is especially present in

eighteenth-century novels. She notes that 'in the representation of liars in eighteenth-century English fiction . . . writers [such as Defoe, Fielding, and Richardson] treat body language as a pointedly unreliable source of information about the person's true state of mind, and yet they obsessively turn to the body as a privileged source of such information'.[28] In trying to understand this paradox, Zunshine points out that even though characters and readers are aware that bodies can 'lie', they cannot help but attempt to interpret body language and facial expressions. Zunshine argues that it is in our evolutionary nature to do so, and, therefore, we also 'end up *performing* our bodies (not always consciously or successfully) so as to shape other people's perceptions of our mental states'.[29] In Bellpine's case, the performance is a conscious effort to manipulate how people read him. The early eighteenth-century culture featured interest in the various passions and how they could be identified with particular facial expressions. This study of passions harked back to the work of the Greeks, and eighteenth-century artists created sketches of the different expressions connected to the passions. These expressions were dramatic and clearly distinguished from each other.[30] However, in Haywood's last novel, such expressions have become subtler. As her fiction shifts from the melodrama of *Love in Excess* (a novel that, according to Zunshine, features bodies that speak 'plainly') to the greater (or more psychological) realism of her later novels, body language also becomes more

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[28] Lisa Zunshine, 'Lying Bodies of the Enlightenment: Theory of Mind and Cultural Historicism', in *Introduction to Cognitive Cultural Studies*, ed. Lisa Zunshine (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 115.
[29] Ibid., 120.
[30] For a discussion of these expressions and testimony, and for inset plates of early eighteenth-century drawings, see Alan T. McKenzie, *Certain Lively Episodes: The Articulation of Passion in Eighteenth-Century Prose* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), 19.

realistic and nuanced.[31] Consequently, bodies are not nearly so plain speaking, and Bellpine's deception rests on the subtlety of expression and an awareness of how his expressions will be read.

Bellpine wants to win Jenny for himself and knows that, in order to do so, he will have to trick people into believing what he wants them to believe and into behaving as he wants them to behave. He also knows that 'performance' of his body is a necessary complement to other aspects of his scheme. These other aspects include encouraging Jemmy to spend time with Miss Chit, telling Miss Chit that Jemmy loves her, and indirectly convincing Jenny (along with the rest of society) that Jemmy no longer intends to marry her. Such deception is complicated and, as Bellpine understands, must include many layers in order to be successful. Crucial to his success are the rumours that will begin to spread because of his 'lying body' and verbal innuendo. Although Bellpine's strategies do include direct deception, such as lying to Jemmy and Miss Chit and writing an anonymous and false letter to Lady Speck, these measures likely would be ineffective without the rumours that he creates to support them. Kate Loveman has studied the hoaxes of the late seventeenth century that popularized the 'sham' as a genre and trained readers to be properly skeptical of their texts. One of the elements that encouraged belief in such hoaxes was the 'word-of-mouth' confirmation of written texts (and vice-versa). For example, Loveman points to a particular example, the pamphlet *Moses his Tombe,* which was 'first spread as hearsay'.[32] The pamphlet's author, Thomas Chaloner, had specific strategies for spreading the relevant rumours:

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[31] Zunshine, 'Lying Bodies', 123.
[32] Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 51.

> He had a trick sometimes to goe into Westminster hall in a morning in Terme time, and tell some strange false story (sham), and would come thither again about 11 or 12 to have the pleasure to hear how it spred; and sometimes it would be altered, with additions, he could scarce knowe it to be his owne.[33]

Although the centrepiece of Chaloner's hoax was a written text, that text might have been less likely to be believed without the hearsay that accompanied it. As Loveman says, 'Sceptical readers who sought oral confirmation for the pamphlet's claims would find it—without realising that it was only another of the author's fictions'.[34] In *Jemmy and Jenny*, Bellpine's rumours provide exactly this kind of confirmation for the anonymous letter that he later sends to Jenny's friend, Lady Speck. As we are told by the narrator, 'Neither Lady Speck nor her sister were ignorant of those reports which had been so maliciously spread, concerning a change in the sentiments of Jemmy;—they had heard it averr'd by several of their acquaintances as a thing past all dispute' (97-98). In other words, they heard rumours before they read the text, thus the latter seemed merely to affirm the former.

The anonymous letter in question arrives after Lady Speck, Miss Wingman, and Jenny have settled in Bath. It purports to inform Lady Speck of Jemmy's infidelity to Jenny and of his pending marriage to Miss Chit in order that Lady Speck might warn Jenny and soften the blow of such a devastating discovery. In his construction of the letter, Bellpine employs several strategies meant not only to deceive Lady Speck about Jenny, but also to mask his motives or 'real springs' of

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[33] John Aubrey, qtd. in Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 51.
[34] Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, 51.

action and to establish his credibility as an author. The following elements are particularly noteworthy and conventional strategies that he uses to fashion himself as a credible source. First, Bellpine sends the letter to Lady Speck rather to Jenny. By sending the letter to Lady Speck, he gains an unwitting accomplice in his task. Had he sent the letter directly to Jenny, she would have received the news from a single anonymous source that might easily be dismissed. However, since Lady Speck has heard the rumours about Jemmy, she gives credence to the letter (as does Miss Wingman), and now Jenny is confronted not only with the claims in the letter but also with the pre-existing suspicions of her friends. Second, Bellpine explicitly appeals to the 'superior judgment' of Lady Speck as well as the 'good sense' of Jenny. This flattery gives Lady Speck additional motivation for defending the letter's veracity. Third, Bellpine (as the anonymous author) pretends not to know all of the details of the intrigue, thereby increasing his authorial credibility by implying a respect for the distinction between probability and certainty. About Jemmy and his alleged interest in Miss Chit, Bellpine writes, 'Some people will have it, that every thing is already so far concluded upon between them that a marriage will very shortly be consummated; but this I will not pretend to affirm; it is certain, however, that he loves her . . .' (101). By pretending to be ignorant about one detail, he increases his credibility on others for which he claims certainty (a strategy also employed in the travel narratives in Haywood's *Female Spectator*). Fourth and finally, Bellpine concludes by guiding Lady Speck's interpretation of his words. He assures her that his concerns 'proceed from a heart only devoted to honour and virtue, and entirely free from all views but such as may be conducive to promote the cause of those noble principles' (101). As the novel's narrator asserts at the beginning of the chapter, the 'real spring' of action is difficult to

determine, so Bellpine gives Lady Speck a suggestion about how she should 'read' his mind and motivation.

Despite Bellpine's efforts, when Jenny is first informed of the letter by Lady Speck, she responds impatiently: '"Good God", cry'd she, to Lady Speck;—'who is it can have the baseness to assert such monstrous untruths, or the presumption to attempt making your ladyship's good nature the dupe of a design so villainous, and withal so mean?' With this response, Jenny suggests that Lady Speck is a 'dupe' if she believes the letter. But Lady Speck and Miss Wingman 'assured [Jenny] that they had heard an account of Jemmy's infidelity from many hands before they had left London . . .' (102). With this, they offer corroborating evidence, which might be more valuable were it not hearsay that originates from the same source as the letter itself. Lady Speck and Miss Wingman assume that any impulse Jenny has to distrust speculation about Jemmy's fidelity is based on her credulous affection for him rather than on the evidence at hand: '"Some people," said Lady Speck, a little scornfully, "take a pride in being blind to what half the town has long since seen and laugh'd at"' (100), and Miss Wingman suggests that '"it is the duty of [Jenny's] friends to force open her eyes, as she seems obstinate to shut daylight out"' (100). Lady Speck and Miss Wingman's comments about Jenny being 'blind' and needing to 'open her eyes' ironically call attention to their overreliance on what they see in front of them (the letter).

Jenny's Crisis of Judgment

Jenny's deep reflection about the situation does not begin until later that evening when she receives another letter, this one from Jemmy, in which he laments that his arrival in Bath will be delayed. This letter from Jemmy creates a

greater sense of alarm about the anonymous letter. Once Jenny is alone, she begins to study carefully the letter from Jemmy, which she thinks might help her understand the other, more mysterious letter. The narrator says that Jenny, 'fell to examining, with the utmost exactness, every sentence of the letter [from Jemmy] which had created in her so much uneasiness;—she compared it with the others she had received from him since her arrival at Bath, and found it nothing different in stile or manner' (105). As Zunshine points out, despite the fact that bodies can lie, they are still elevated over speech as 'the direct conduit to the mind'.[35] An implication of her argument is that if the spoken word is less reliable than the performance of the body, then the written word becomes an even more suspect medium because there is no body present to assist the reader in her efforts at 'theory of mind'—her efforts to infer the motivations, thoughts, and feelings of the letter writer. One of the challenges that Jenny faces, then, is that that there is very little within the texts of the letters themselves to mark one as deceptive and the other as sincere. Therefore, it is logical that she and other characters should look for evidence beyond the text in order to corroborate what is written.

In contrast to the approach by Lady Speck and Miss Wingman, Jenny relies on imaginative capacity and a broader base of evidence as she considers the two letters. At first, she entirely dismisses the anonymous letter based on her own knowledge of Jemmy and her experiences of his love for her, much as Elizabeth Bennet, because of her previous experiences, first dismisses anything Darcy has to say in his letter. However, when Jenny receives Jemmy's letter shortly after

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[35] Zunshine, 'Lying Bodies', 124. See also John Mullan, who says that body language 'punctures or disrupts [deceitful] speech.' In John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 61.

Bellpine's, she engages in reflective judgment and detailed examination of the text. In addition to looking closely at the sentence style of Jemmy's letter, Jenny notices that he mentions he will attend a musical performance. She infers that the performer might be Miss Chit and that the reference to the performance might uncover a grain of truth that grew into rumours. With this inference, Jenny demonstrates an 'enlarged mentality' by imagining the mind set of the general populous and those involved in the rumours and by recognizing that the rumours would not have been perpetuated without some 'foundation' of truth. Although she feels a pang of jealousy for just a moment, she then puts herself in Jemmy's position and theorizes that if he were really engaged with Miss Chit, he would have avoided mentioning the music at all, assuming the general principle that 'the guilty always carefully avoid speaking on the theme which calls their crime into question' (104). She does not, however, simply ignore evidence that might suggest Jemmy's guilt. Rather, she moves beyond the particulars of this case as she recognizes the 'thousand instances of the deceit and perfidy of men in the affairs of love, which she had either heard or read of' that 'reminded her that she ought not to be too secure' (104). In this reflection, she considers various kinds of evidence, including her previous experiences, the content of the letters, the standpoints of others, and general stereotypes about men.

Ultimately, Jenny cannot 'bring herself to believe him absolutely false', yet, if she is to believe that the anonymous letter is deceptive, she must struggle to identify the motivation or 'first spring' of such deception. The facts, themselves, do not make the case. Therefore, Jenny tries to piece together a narrative that will explain them. She recognizes that 'the smallest hint . . . passes with many people as an undoubted fact' (107) and that this might be how the rumour reached Lady

Speck. At this point in her reflection, Jenny attempts the 'fictive leap' that Vivasvan Soni argues is required in judgment. The narrator explains Jenny's attempt to knit together a narrative that will explain the facts:

> Thus did she endeavor to dive into the bottom of this mysterious affair, assigning for it every cause that *reason* or her fertile *imagination* could suggest;—yet wavering still, and uncertain on which of them she should fix, her mind at length grew quite fatigued with the unavailing search; and she resolved to wait till time should bring to light what all her penetration could not at present enable her to discover. (107)[36]

In this passage, Jenny reflects on the details—'the data and bits of information', to use Soni's phrase—in order to identify the cause or 'motive' for the facts as they have presented themselves.[37] Just as Elizabeth Bennet makes a 'fictive leap' as she creates narratives from the information, Jenny must also engage her imagination. In this moment, however, her imaginative capacity does not lead her to a confident or clear interpretation of the facts, so she suspends judgment—holding a final verdict in abeyance until 'time should bring to light' further evidence that will help her complete and verify a narrative. In this moment, Jenny is waiting for more reliable evidence, and she makes clear what kind of evidence she will require: '[W]e certainly ought not to believe ill of any one without the testimony of our own senses to confirm the truth of that report . . .' (108). Although Haywood makes it clear throughout her work that sensory perception is not sufficient for judgment, Jenny recognises its proper place as a strategy for checking and comparing the different narratives that she has imagined or that may have been repeated by

[36] My italics.
[37] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 378.

someone else. Throughout the novel, it is Jenny's practice to suspend judgment until she tests the facts herself or, on occasion, confirms information through a reliable source. Soni says the impetus for suspension of judgment is the moment of crisis: the moment when there is both 'paralysis of judgment' and 'proliferation of judgment'.[38] Soni is worth quoting at length because his description characterizes the moment of Jenny's suspension:

> Crisis is what recalls judgment to its task, after it has been lulled into complacency by prejudice, opinion (gossip), or the rote application of rules inadequate to the situation it confronts. It compels an attention to the immanent logic of the situation without reliance on pre-given, transcendent ideals or arbitrarily asserted norms to guide one's judgment. Crisis liberates judgment from its thrall to cognitive habits which serve as surrogates for judgment. By suspending judgment between two incommensurable poles, it frees judgment to approach the situation as it is, in all the richness of detail. At the moment of crisis, we are forced to be free, to apply our judgment freely to the particularities of the situation. If we have anything to learn from the twentieth-century interpretive theories I criticize . . . . [I]t is precisely the necessity of this moment of crisis (freedom) [that enables] the activity of autonomous judgment.[39]

Although Jenny serves as a judge throughout the novel, it is her examination of the letters in a moment of crisis that most clearly demonstrates her process of judgment and the degree to which she effectively exercises autonomous judgment

[38] Ibid., 367.
[39] Ibid., 374.

that is free from bias or undue external influence. Although many of Haywood's earlier texts show a concern for truth as strong as the one we see in *Jemmy and Jenny*, the process of carefully gathering and reflecting upon evidence is not common practice for characters in Haywood's other works, in which characters often are ruled by passion and bias. In contrast, Jenny exercises the caution and doubt that many Haywood heroines neglect to their peril, and thus she is not a dupe to deception.

The Imagination and Sociable Judgment

Vivasvan Soni's 'fictive leap' descends from several related concepts that have been expressed by other thinkers. He recognises the connections between his ideas about 'reflective judgment' and Kant's theory of judgment, but Soni is worried that Kant leaves room for the permanent suspension of judgment because Kant's theory of judgment focuses on the 'onlookers' and not those who act.[40] For Soni, judgment that permanently suspends action is often not true judgment. Soni's interest in the imagination, however, is a point of connection between his ideas and Kant's 'enlarged mentality' as well as Arendt's idea of 'going visiting' (as Soni, himself, acknowledges).[41] Each of these thinkers invokes the power of the imagination to move beyond one's private, subjective reality to a broader, more sociable approach to judgment. As Arendt points out, judgment 'cannot function in strict isolation or solitude; it needs the presence of others "in whose place" it must think, whose perspectives it must take into consideration, and without whom it

[40] Soni, 'Crisis of Judgment', 277; for a discussion of how Kant's judgment focuses on 'onlookers' and defers action, see Arendt, 'Lectures', 46-50.
[41] For Arendt on 'going visiting', see 'Lectures', 43; see also Nazar, 'The Imagination Goes Visiting', 150.

never has the opportunity to operate at all', and she claims that '[t]he faculty that makes this possible is the imagination'.[42] During this imaginative process, to put it in Arendt's terms, we 'go visiting' the standpoints of others. In other words, we put ourselves in their place to imagine their possible thoughts and perspectives. In fact, one of the reasons that Arendt privileges the spectator over the actor is that disinterested spectatorship, more than the vested interest of an actor, better facilitates one's ability to demonstrate impartiality, which was deemed important throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries among natural philosophers and other Enlightenment thinkers, and it was also a point of concern for Haywood.[43] For example, Justicia from *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* claims a kind of detached impartiality because of her role as a 'spy' and former sceptic; Eovaai attempts to take refuge in Oozoff, the land of 'impartiality'; and the Female Spectator claims that she is impartial, even in debates about women's behaviour.[44] *The Female Spectator's* eidolon is, after all, a 'spectator', a position that, according to Arendt, should allow the greatest degree of impartiality. When Arendt discusses the impartial spectator, she invokes Cicero and his notion of the *maxime ingenuum*, which Arendt identifies as 'the most noble group of the free-born men, for what they were doing: to look for the sake of seeing only was the freest, *liberalissimum*, of all pursuits'.[45] A key difference between Haywood's characters and Cicero's or Arendt's ideal spectator-philosopher is that Haywood's characters are not 'disinterested'. In fact, they are deeply invested in problems that, for both

[42] Arendt, 'Crisis in Culture', 20.
[43] Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy*, 102.
[44] See, for example, the Female Spectator's response to concerns about women's tea drinking (*FS*8, II:2, 283).
[45] Arendt, 'The Crisis in Culture', 19.

characters and readers, have very high stakes, indeed. Their judgment must not be an end result, but rather a preparation for action.

Soni argues that Rousseau, in *Emile*, attempts to 'shut down the space of judgment as he attempts to create a 'sovereign selfhood' and that, in the novel, 'The only way to ensure that Emile shows good judgment, it seems, is to make sure he never has to judge for himself, to program his judgments by fiction or by the senses and experience'.[46] In other words, ideal judgment in *Emile* is one that does not, in fact, enter any standpoints other than one's own. As evidence, Soni points to the tutor's attempts to prevent Emile from drawing any conclusions that move beyond his own sensory data. Soni argues, however, that a conclusion that is 'tethered' to the senses is not really a judgment at all. Although I understand and find important Soni's criticisms of the sensory-based knowledge privileged in *Emile*, I do not agree that such a conclusion is not a judgment. Rather, I would suggest that if it involves a conclusion that extends at all beyond perception, it is a judgment, even if it *pretends* to be knowledge. In other words, it is an inference that claims to be fact. Still, I take Soni's point that such conclusions do not acknowledge a true process of judgment but rather seek (or claim) to avoid the process altogether, especially the inferential or 'fictive' leap that judgment, as Soni asserts, so often requires. Rousseau's confidence in and overreliance on sensory experience as a reliable standard of judgment ignores the possibility that other people will experience the same data in *different* ways, a possibility that disrupts or distorts any standard of judgment based on perception or experience. Judy Cornett, in her discussion of Arabella's reasoning in *The Female Quixote*, puts it this way:

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[46] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 371.

> If, as Locke claimed, each person gains his or her knowledge solely from his or her own 'Sensation' and 'Reflection', then what is to prevent each person from slipping into complete solipsism? What is to hold the community of knowers together? Locke gave a commonsense answer: 'Experience and Observation'. The usefulness of experience as a touchstone for communal truth, however, depends on the shared nature of experience, and Locke assumes that all knowers share a homogenous experience. As *The Female Quixote* demonstrates, however, human experience is not homogenous; Arabella acts perfectly reasonably given her experience. The failure of experience in Arabella's case challenges faith in the possibility of shared knowledge.[47]

Arabella is isolated from society and draws her interpretive hermeneutic from romance novels and amatory fiction. Therefore, even though she has a system of knowledge to draw from, it is an insular, fictional system that leads her astray. Emile is also isolated, and in some ways, has less to draw on than Arabella does. As a result, not only do Emile's 'judgments' actually attempt to evade judgment entirely, but Emile's isolation also ensures the kind of solipsism that Cornett describes.

However, characters like Elizabeth Bennet, Jenny Jessamy, and even Emile, cannot ultimately be mere spectators in their own lives, and neither, of course, can their readers. In fact, most situations in life do not allow for permanently deferred judgment. One, can, however, still seek a position of impartiality by 'going visiting'. Soni points out, for example, that during Elizabeth Bennet's first reading of Darcy's

[47] Cornett, 'Hoodwink'd by Custom', 83.

letter, the 'intensity of her emotional reaction' prevents her from getting the 'critical distance or impartial perspective' that she needs in order to read the letter well.[48] One benefit of the epistolary form, as Soni points out, is that it allows time for reflection and re-reading. This benefit relates to my analysis of *The Female Spectator*: readers can imagine the ideas of the 'author' (and the other readers) while at a distance and, therefore, can form a sociable judgment while still in less danger of undue influence on their autonomous processes. Elizabeth Bennet, upon the second reading, takes a much more impartial stance as she tries to set her prejudices aside and view Wickham, and especially her sister, Jane, as Darcy sees them. In other words, she 'visits' his standpoint and gains an increased degree of impartiality. Maurer has questioned the notion of the impartial stance, saying that, in Haywood's *Female Spectator*, for example, the eidolon's claim to an 'impartial moral authority that is universal' by necessity signifies a male authority, and therefore fails to be 'partial to the female sex' as Maurer implies it should be.[49] However, the notion that impartiality must be male fails, I think, to accept impartiality as a process of enlarged mentality that by its very definition resists such limits and, in fact, requires greater extension. A male impartiality would not, in an Arendtian sense, be impartiality at all. Although I understand Maurer's point that, in a patriarchy, any 'universal' way of thinking must be male, I do not think her reasoning follows by necessity. As Nazar argues, judgment and autonomy need not been seen as 'reinforc[ing] the hegemonic regimes of modern disciplinary power', but rather they can been seen as being 'premised on an understanding of individuals as socially embedded subjects, whose ability to question the norms of

[48] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 374.
[49] Maurer, *Proposing Men*, 229.

their societies and to constitute alternative principles of action requires active social engagement in the form of critical debate'.[50] In other words, Nazar—like Marilyn Friedman, Linda Zagzebski, Benjamin McMyler, as well as others, including Arendt—resists definitions of impartiality, judgment, and autonomy that are 'atomistic' and entirely self-reliant.[51] With enlarged thought we extend thinking beyond ourselves in order to imagine the standpoints of others so that we can compare our judgments to theirs and, subsequently, refine those judgments. Jenny Jessamy demonstrates this sociable approach to judgment, and that approach does not negate her autonomy.

Blending Genres through Interpolated Sentiment

As I previously noted in this chapter, *Jemmy and Jenny* has typically been characterized as a sentimental text. And although I resist that designation for the novel as a whole, the interpolated tales do, in fact, reflect the intense emotions of sensibility as well as the sentiment-based judgment to be found later in Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (first published in 1759). George Frisbie Whicher, like Deborah Nestor and Karen Cajka, finds the novel's merit in these interpolated tales, or what he calls the 'digressions' of the novel, and says that their plots are more 'compressed' and, 'at times even sprightly', than the novel's plot as a whole.[52] Each of them involves a young woman in distress. The first is Mrs. M_____, who quite literally rushes onto the scene in an attempt to kill Celadine, the heartless rake with whom she has become hopelessly in love. The second is a

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[50] Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments*, 16.
[51] Friedman, *Autonomy, Gender, Politics*; MyMyler, *Testimony*; Arendt, 'Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy'; Linda Zagzebski, *Epistemic Authority: A Theory of Trust, Authority and Autonomy in Belief.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[52] Whicher, *Eliza Haywood*, 148.

'fair stranger', who has escaped from home in order to avoid being forced into marriage with an elderly man. The third is Sophia, Jenny's friend who is the victim of a con artist who poses as a true and honourable lover in order to steal Sophia's fortune.[53] The first two young women tell their tales to Jenny and several of her friends, and Sophia tells her tale just to Jenny alone. These tales do, indeed, have a high level of sensibility. However, in using the label 'sentimental' in order to dismiss the novel as just generally bad, its critics have failed to consider sufficiently the role of judgment in these tales and how they connect to the larger narrative about Jenny.

These tales are not merely sources of gratuitous emotion; rather, they repeatedly turn Jenny and her friends (but mostly Jenny) into impartial spectators who both sympathize with and judge the three women who tell their stories. Central to sentimental literature is 'the communication of common feeling from sufferer or watcher to reader or audience', and this quality characterizes each of the three tales.[54] In the first one, Mrs. M_____ presents her story to Jenny and her companions after she has nearly stabbed Jenny in an attack prompted by the jealousy she feels when she sees Celadine making advances on Jenny in the garden.[55] Afterwards, she offers an explanation of her 'motives' to Jenny and the rest of the group, saying 'I have reason to hope that a perfect knowledge of those unfortunate circumstances which brought on my undoing, will entitle me rather to compassion than at all add to the contempt the last behaviour I have been *guilty* of

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[53] Jemmy also serves as a judge when presented with Celia's story, another interpolated tale, but since I do not focus on Jemmy in this chapter, I do not include that analysis here. Analysis of Jemmy would be fruitful, however, since he is such a poor judge in comparison to Jenny.

[54] Janet Todd, *On Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen Press, 1986), 4.

[55] Mrs. M _____ ironically turns out to be Jenny's savior in this situation since Celadine was attempting to rape Jenny.

must have excited' (118).[56] As with elsewhere in the novel (and as I will discuss in more detail below), the characters and the narrator employ legal language as they consider and judge, and Mr. Lovegrove tells Mrs. M_____, '"You neither can be *justified* nor be *condemn'd* in our opinion, without your letting us into the secret of this *crime*"' (118).[57] Mrs. M_____, therefore, tells her tale as Jenny and her friends listen. For several pages after Mrs. M_____'s explanation, much of the novel's narrative is taken up with Lady Speck's jealousy (she has tender feelings for the cruel Celadine), but eventually readers receive a very detailed account of Jenny's response to Mrs. M_____'s story. Central to Mrs. M_____'s explanation is that her affair with Celadine began as pretence on her part when she wanted to make her husband jealous. Jenny finds this original pretence 'so highly *criminal*, as well as weak and mean, that she could not help thinking it worthy of all the *punishments* it met with', and in general, she finds Mrs. M_____ lacking 'sense' (141).[58] In this case, Jenny actually has very little sympathy for Mrs. M_____, and this lack of sympathy relates to her judgment. Adam Smith asserts that sympathy with another's feeling suggests approval, and for Mrs. M_____ Jenny has neither.[59]

The second tale is told by 'the fair stranger' and is in stark contrast to the first tale by Mrs. M_____. The 'fair stranger' or 'fair fugitive' is introduced to Jenny and her friends by the woman who runs the house where they are staying as they travel from Bath back to London. The introduction occurs because 'the fair stranger' is trying to sell a jewelled box in order to get some money, and Jenny's group wonders why such a box would be sold and by whom. The keeper of the

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[56] My italics.
[57] My italics.
[58] My italics.
[59] Smith, *Moral Sentiments*, 23.

house says she will bring them the 'fair stranger' because they 'will be better judges' than she can be (181). The young woman's story is common one in sentimental fiction—it is 'the battle of wills between a father and a daughter'—and so it is one that engages directly with problems of judgment and autonomy.[60] After hearing the stranger's story, Jenny says that she has been 'deeply touched' by the story of her misfortune, and Jenny and the rest of the group give her money as well as means for safe passage to her destination. Important to the tale of 'the fair stranger' is the degree of sympathy it evokes in comparison to Mrs. M _____'s. These are not equal tales of two distressed women; rather, they are contrasting tales in which the 'judges' of the case reach very different conclusions about the young women's 'guilt' for their 'crimes', and these contrasts reflect the importance of individual circumstances and how they impact judgment. Although 'the fair stranger' violated the precept of duty to her father, the group's sympathy suggests that, under these circumstances, they approve of her decision to disobey him and leave.

Of course, in sentimental fiction, the role of the spectator is ultimately more important than what he or she is looking at. As Janet Todd puts it, sentimental literature 'is a kind of pedagogy of seeing and of the physical reaction that this seeing should produce'.[61] The most important part of this 'looking' is the development of a perspective of impartiality that creates the ability to look at oneself in an impartial way. This role of the 'spectator' is especially evident when Jenny listens to the third interpolated tale from her friend, Sophia, who fell in love with a con-artist who, before being discovered, managed to get Sophia to give him

[60] Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments*, 6.
[61] Todd, *Sensibility*, 4.

£1,000—half of her inheritance. After hearing Sophia's story, Jenny first judges Sophia as blameworthy, but then she truly attempts to 'cultivate the standpoint of impartiality' as she imagines herself in Sophia's position:[62]

> [Sophia's] unhappy adventure had made a very great impression on the mind of our young heroine; she sincerely loved her, and pitied her misfortune; but could not help thinking it both strange and blameable in her to entertain so violent a passion for a man whose character she knew so little of.—'People make their own unhappiness, and then lament it', cried she somewhat peevishly; 'sure I never could have been so indiscreet'; but this thought no sooner came into her head than it was check'd by another; —'Yet how vain am I to flatter myself with such an imagination, or presume so far on my own strength of reason . . . .
>
> 'How can I be certain', pursued she, 'that in the same circumstances I should not have acted in the same manner that poor Sophia has done?' . . . Thus did the knowledge of her friend's mistake, instead of making her set any value upon herself for not having been guilty of the like error, serve only to fill her with the warmest gratitude to Heaven that had not exposed her to the like danger'. (337-38)

Although Jenny finds Sophia's actions unwise and preventable, she generously recognizes that had she been in Sophia's shoes, had she not been raised with good sense by her father, she might have acted differently. She uses her imagination to adopt, for a moment, Sophia's standpoint, and this use of imagination as part of

[62] Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments*, 3; see also Raphael, *Impartial Spectator*, 13.

judgment connects these interpolated tales to the themes of 'enlarged mentality' and judgment that concern the central narrative of the novel. However, the nature of the tales should not be conflated with the nature of the novel as a whole. Although these tales are sentimental, the rest of the novel is not. In fact, when one considers Jenny's actions and thinking processes as she navigates her own relationship with Jemmy—actions which are always measured and guided by reason and inquiry—the characterization of the novel as one of intense sensibility seems strikingly inaccurate. Nevertheless, the content of each tale foregrounds the problems of young women's judgment and, therefore, complements the novel's detailed study of Jenny's autonomy in a way much more unified than previously has been suggested.

Legal Autonomy and Discourse

Karen Cajka has written about the 'unprotected woman' in *Jemmy and Jenny*, and as both a contrast and complement to her study, I consider here the opposite subject: the protected woman.[63] Jenny Jessamy is not only an exemplar, as I have shown, of how to think and behave, or, as Richetti puts it, 'a font of good sense',[64] but also she is an example of what might be possible for a woman of independent means. To a great degree, it is her legal and economic autonomy that allow her to effectively exercise her judgment. Certainly her success has much to do with her astute penetration and the 'enlarged mentality' I discuss above, but it is ultimately her legal independence that allows her to engage in the 'suspension of judgment' that Haywood, along with other Enlightenment thinkers, envisions as so

[63] Cajka, 'The Unprotected Woman'.
[64] Richetti, introduction to *Jemmy and Jenny*, xxviii.

important. Jenny's legal and economic autonomy are the happy result of her family's economic status along with the wisdom and benevolence of her father and, later, her guardian (Jemmy's father), who secured her future. Both of these father figures were good stewards of their own wealth and established proper wills to ensure their children would be properly settled. Added to their proper behaviour is also the fact that they both died before Jenny got married, thereby leaving Jenny to be a wealthy and legally autonomous young woman. In fact, not only has Jenny inherited legal control of the wealth of her father, but towards the end of the novel, she also receives all of Jemmy's assets when he signs them over to her in order to avoid the potential seizure of the property if he is jailed for duelling. As a result, she meets regularly with his lawyers, who effectively advise her as she manages the assets and composes her own will to ensure proper distribution of the assets in case of her death. These plot events disrupt the typical narrative of the propertied male who benefits from the law. In fact, once Jenny has control over the property, she takes legal steps to ensure that her newly gained assets would not go to a profligate male relative if she were to die. Granted, it is clear that Jenny only gains this status because of the kindness and wisdom of the men in her life, but gain it she does, which suggests at least some disruption to narratives that leave female characters in perpetual legal subjugation.[65] If, as Jane Spencer suggests, '*The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* is about the dangers of too much independence for a young woman', then *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* is about the potential benefits of that independence.[66]

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[65] For an analysis of property, power, law, and gender, see Anna Farmer, 'A Heroine Addiction': Love and the Law in *The Female Quixote*, Griffith Law Review 13 (2004): 235.

[66] Spencer, *The Rise of the Novelist*, 147.

Of course, central to my thesis is not only the possession of autonomy, but also the difficulty of exercising it effectively. Through the character of Jenny's friend, Sophia, Haywood shows what can happen when a legally autonomous woman exercises her judgment poorly. Although Cajka describes Sophia as 'unprotected', Sophia begins the novel in a legally protected position as a financially independent single woman. She goes astray, however, when she takes a criminal rake at his word and 'loans' him £1000 (half of her fortune) without having him sign a contract to acknowledge the debt. Many of Haywood's earlier texts foreground the near impossibility of discovering truth; however, it is clear that Sophia could quite easily have avoided being duped had she suspended judgment and, more importantly, suspended action until she had investigated the facts to discern the truth or falsehood of her suitor's self-styled narrative about his circumstances. Instead, she relied on reasoning that was self-deceptive and insular. Sophia tries to retrieve her lost money through the help of a lawyer, and despite the lawyer's genuine efforts, her money is lost forever because she has no written contract of the exchange.

Central to Sophia's story is not only her interaction with the legal system, but also its vocabulary and methods. Throughout the novel, characters are put in the position of judging other characters and their actions, and those situations often involve the language of law and criminality. For example, when Sophia visits Jenny to tell her she is leaving town in self-imposed exile, she says, '"*Judge* now, my dear Miss Jessamy . . . if to remain in a place where I must expect to be made the public ridicule, would not be a folly in me even greater than that which has subjected me to it'. In response, Jenny says, 'I have already *testified* . . . how much I approved your resolution of retiring'. She also tells Sophia that she (Sophia) 'had

been *guilty of no crime*', and Sophia later acknowledges 'the *justice* of these arguments'. Although they are discussing a private matter, they employ legal vocabulary that foregrounds the process of judging. Another relevant example occurs after Lord Huntley has cleared his name from an accusation of bigamy. Lord Huntley is courting Jenny's friend, Miss Wingman, when Miss Wingman receives a letter from her father telling her that Huntley already has a wife. After his name is cleared, the group tells him how Jenny never believed him guilty. Speaking directly to Miss Wingman's father who initiated the accusation (and who later accepted the proof of Lord Huntley's innocence), Mr. Lovegrove says,

> 'It is no new thing, Sir Thomas,' said Mr. Lovegrove, 'to hear Miss Jessamy *plead the cause of the accused*: strong as was the *indictment* laid against Lord Huntley in your letter, I can assure you, it lost half its force by the *arguments* which this fair *advocate* urg'd in opposition to it; -- scarce could the supposed *criminal* himself *defended his innocence* with more zeal, or in terms more pathetic and efficacious.' (208-09)[67]

Whereas Jenny is often in the position of judge, this legal language also puts her in the position of defensive council. Other instances occur throughout the novel that invoke the language of the law, as well as its authority. The latter occurs, for example, when characters visit magistrates (or threaten to do so) and when Jemmy has to run away to France after wounding Bellpine in a duel.

With these examples, I aim to support my claim that legal language pervades *Jemmy and Jenny*, but I also aim to show that legal thinking—in terms of the pursuit of truth in the face of doubt—affects the novel's exploration of

[67] My italics.

judgment and contributes to the novel's mitigation of the scepticism that Haywood demonstrates in earlier texts. In *Jemmy and Jenny*, truth is consistently discovered through careful reflection and investigation, and these methods of discovery contrast with those in many earlier texts, such as *The Rash Resolve* (1724), which relies on confession, and *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* and *Eovaai*, which rely on supernatural means. When Lord Huntley is accused of bigamy, for example, he immediately travels back to London from Bath in order to investigate, and he goes directly to his accuser, Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas then takes him to the source of the rumour, where they find that someone has been pretending to be Lord Huntley. Consequently, Lord Huntley's name is cleared, and he and Sir Thomas pursue a 'search-warrant' that can be executed by the 'officers of justice'. In this example, Huntley does not allow the accusation to stand. Rather he takes active steps to interrogate the narrative and investigate the truth, and he leads Sir Thomas on a fact-finding mission. Once he and Sir Thomas discover the truth, he turns to the legal system for justice. These strategies invoke the methods of criminal investigation in order to discover deception and find truth, a process that is necessary to counterbalance the imaginative leap necessary when moving from a set of data to a narrative.

Problems of legal knowledge and judgment were centre stage during the mid-eighteenth century as legal cases (and not just criminals themselves) became matters of public interest. One of those was a bigamy case that Haywood fictionalizes in *Dalinda; or, The Double Marriage* (1749).[68] Another, the case of Elizabeth Canning, is one of the most well known, and it began in January 1753,

[68] For a detailed analysis of the epistemological issues in *Dalinda*, see Wilputte, 'Haywood's Tabloid Journalism'.

just after the first volume of *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* was published. Both of these cases are characterized by the kinds of problems that Haywood addresses in *Jemmy and Jenny*, particularly those related to the difficulty of relying on testimony as opposed to factual or circumstantial evidence. In the face of testimony, one is left to merely compare narrative assertions from different points of view. The Cresswell bigamy case, for example, hinges on three separate versions of events surrounding Elizabeth Scrope's accusation of bigamy towards Thomas Cresswell. As Earla Wilputte explains it, 'The Cresswell case was told [in the press] from three points of view: Elizabeth Scrope's, Thomas Cresswell's, and Lancelot Lee's, Miss Scrope's suitor. The public was left to judge among these viewpoints and to sift through the opinions and questions of by-standers who also weighed in through public letters'.[69] The truth in this matter was difficult to determine since it rested so heavily on competing and conflicting testimonies and so little on circumstantial evidence. The Elizabeth Canning case was similar because it rested on competing narratives. Canning had accused Mary Squires and Virtue Hall of kidnapping and abusing her. First, they were found guilty, but after that verdict, people began to say that Canning had falsely accused them. Eventually, Canning was found guilty of perjury and transported to the American colonies. In the Canning case, Henry Fielding, who was the magistrate, could not study empirical or 'circumstantial' evidence in order to ground his narrative conclusions about her innocence or guilt. All of the evidence had been related to him as testimony, and even Fielding recognised that the entirety of the case rested 'solely on the Evidence

[69] Wilputte, 'Haywood's Tabloid Journalism', 125.

of others'.[70] In the beginning of his pamphlet about Canning, Fielding praises the English system of law that was 'established to protect the rights of the subject and to provide for certainty of judgement'; however, in the Canning case, it is clear that no such certainty ever arrives.[71]

Despite the potential failure of the legal system to determine truth in these cases, in the eighteenth century, it was still the most reliable system for pursuing truth in the realm of human affairs.[72] The legal system and its language, then, provide a potential solution to the problems that trouble Haywood, especially the problems of sensory perception, isolated experience, and testimony. Many eighteenth-century novels focus on the problems and/or potentialities of the legal system. As David Punter puts it, 'Eighteenth-century fiction is obsessed with the law'.[73] To support his claim, he considers mostly male writers like Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, and William Godwin, with brief attention to Ann Radcliffe. Nancy Johnson examines women writers in the law, explaining that '[l]iterature and the law reached an important moment of conflation in Britain in the late eighteenth century' that led to 'a group of women novelists of the 1790s who were . . . engaged in a narrative dialogue that wrestled with female attempts to acquire agency and to be regarded as full legal subjects'.[74] These narrative attempts, however, were fraught due to the 'masculine social conscience' that

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[70] Henry Fielding, *A Clear State of the Case* (Dublin: Printed for George Faulkner, Peter Wilson, and Matthew Williamson, 1753), 44.
[71] Fielding qtd. in Hal Gladfelder, *Criminality and Narrative in Eighteenth-Century England: Beyond the Law* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2001), 180. For more on the Elizabeth Canning case see Judith Moore, *The Appearance of Truth: The Story of Elizabeth Canning and Eighteenth-Century Narrative* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994); Lynch, *Deception and Detection.*
[72] Shapiro, 'Beyond a Reasonable Doubt', 30.
[73] Punter, 'Fictional Representation', 47.
[74] Nancy Johnson, 'Women, Agency, and the Law: Mediations of the Novel in the Late Eighteenth-Century', *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, 19 (1996), 270.

served as a moral and legal authority over a 'female legal subjectivity that existed only as a sort of fiction'.[75] Few scholars, however, have focused on the role of law and legal agency or discourse in works by women, and those who have done so have typically focused on the writers of the later eighteenth century.[76] Of those who have studied earlier texts by women, even fewer have considered legal issues in Haywood.

This neglect is surprising since, as Kathryn King asserts, Haywood has a 'preoccupation with the law that [features] importantly' after 1724.[77] King, herself, focuses on Haywood's interest in the power of law to provide (or fail to provide) 'redress' in *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to Utopia* (1725), and she concludes that, for Haywood, 'virtue is ineffectual' against an unsupportive or oppressive legal system.[78] Relatedly, Jennifer Hobgood argues that Haywood's work is 'deeply concerned with the concept of contract', both in terms of the social contract and the marriage contract, and Hobgood looks specifically at how these issues figure in three of Haywood's texts from the 1720s—*A Wife to be Lett* (1724), *The City Jilt* (1726), and *The Mercenary Lover* (1726).[79] Cheryl Nixon also studies Haywood's critique of the law, but her interpretation suggests a slightly more optimistic Haywood who portrays a legal system that might—with revision—

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[75] John P. Zomchick, '"A Penetration Which Nothing Can Deceive": Gender and Judicial Discourse in Some Eighteenth-Century Narratives', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 29.3 (1989), 540; Sue Chaplin, 'Fictions of Femininity: Gender, Law, and Genre in Eighteenth Century England', *Griffith Law Review*, 34 (2002), 34. See also Farmer, 'A Heroine Addiction'.
[76] See Johnson, 'Women, Agency, and the Law'; Nicole M. Wright, 'Tendering Judgment: Vying Prototypes of "Judicial Sensibility" in later Eighteenth-Century British Narratives of Justice', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 48.3 (2015), 329-52.
[77] King, *Political Biography*, 48.
[78] Ibid., 51.
[79] Jennifer Hobgood, '"I will sign, but it shall be in Flames": Eliza Haywood's Critique of Contract', *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 4.1 (2001), 73.

benefit those whom it has previously failed to protect. As Nixon puts it, 'Haywood's fiction predicts the legal shift from a focus on the guardian and property to an increasing interest in the welfare of the child'.[80] Nixon says that Haywood's prediction looks beyond the failings of the legal system in order to suggest it future potentialities, an example of which can be seen in *The Distress'd Orphan* (1726) when the law (eventually) offers recourse for Annilia, whose guardian has abused his legal power in order to divest her of her inheritance. In *Jemmy and Jenny*, the legal system and lawyers assist Jenny honestly, and attempt to help Sophia after she has been betrayed.

Because *Jemmy and Jenny* suggests the possibility of detecting deception and truth by realistic means, I assert that it is not a sceptical text. However, Jenny Jessamy, herself, is a model of sceptical thinking. Although she is known for being merciful, and she regularly gives people the 'benefit of the doubt' so to speak, she still believes that she should prove things by the 'testimony of [her] own senses', and she is regularly suspicious of the testimony of others. Hers is a 'mitigated scepticism', which involves putting 'assumptions to the test, to compare them against facts'.[81] As Andrew Sabl explains, fact-checking does not always indicate intense philosophical scepticism, but it does suggest a general attitude of

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[80] Cheryl Nixon, 'Regulating the Unstable Family: Eliza Haywood's Fiction and the Development of Family Law', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14.4 (2014), 58. In addition, Susan Paterson Glover says that while Haywood 'staged the difficulties and incongruities of law and property for women', she also offers occasional 'dizzying glimpses of autonomy and self-fashioning', in *Engendering Legitimacy: Law, Property, and Early Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Lewisburg: Bucknell Press, 2006), 136.

[81] Andrew Sabl, 'David Hume: Skepticism in Politics?', in *Skepticism and Political Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. John Christian Laursen and Gianni Paganini (Los Angeles: University of Toronto Press in association with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2015), 168. On 'mitigated skepticism' see also Popkin, *History of Scepticism*, 125.

scepticism.[82] Jenny is not a philosophical sceptic: she believes things can be known. This is a position that she must take, of course, in order to make decisions that need to be made, but she regularly takes a position of doubt—a position that Justicia and many other Haywood characters fail to take—and this position leads her to exercise her autonomy effectively. Her successful autonomy implies that even though external social forces can threaten autonomy and female subjectivity (as they do in, say, *Eovaai*), they also can be harnessed for an effective autonomy that is not the extreme individualism of, say, Descartes, but is an intersubjective autonomy that relies on sociable modes of judgment. In this final novel, then, Haywood's Cartesian doubt has been modified. Although her doubt still has a rationalistic foundation, it recognizes what Descartes, perhaps, did not: that despite the problems of other minds and the threat of the Evil Genius, to reason in isolation is sure to create problems of its own.

Conclusion

Because of her autonomy and good judgment, Jenny Jessamy operates in contrast to characters from Haywood's other fiction as well as other contemporary heroines from texts like *Clarissa* (1748), *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751), and *The Female Quixote* (1752). All of Jenny's reasoning and actions are both 'penetrating' and 'judicious', and this stunning consistency serves her well since, throughout the narrative, many situations present themselves that do, in fact, require her to judge and, ultimately to *act,* despite her initial goal of being a spectator or spy. Important to her success is her careful consideration of testimony, her ability to imagine multiple, competing inferences, and her

[82] Sabl, 'David Hume: Skepticism in Politics?', 162.

commitment to suspending judgment in the face of uncertainty. Another significant difference from the heroines of other mid-century novels (and from Haywood's other novels) is Jenny's status as a legally autonomous individual. Whereas other works typically feature young women who attempt to exercise their will against resisting fathers (or brothers), Jenny has no such resistance. As a result, Haywood is able to thoroughly explore how a woman's intellectual autonomy might be exercised should she have the opportunity and means to do so.

Essentially, I argue that this novel offers what Vivasvan Soni implies is not achieved until Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, which he claims provides 'a model for understanding the practice of judgment' because, 'instead of oscillating between the equally unsatisfying poles of radically grounded experience and a radically ungrounded fictiveness, it reveals the co-constitutive structure of fictionality and experience in producing good judgment'.[83] *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* reveals a similar process of judgment, in which Jenny neglects neither experience nor imagination, and, therefore, the novel not only responds to Haywood's own earlier work and other contemporary novels, but also it prefigures later novelistic investigations of judgment, making it important to the development of the novel in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Central to this development is Haywood's interest in sociable judgment through which she models not only how we should think, but also how we should read. This sociable judgment is based on putting oneself in the standpoint of others and imagining their thoughts, thereby developing the impartiality that is necessary for good judgment and for good reading.

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[83] Soni, 'Committing Freedom', 371.

Although this novel is still part of the sceptical tradition—because it examines the practice of sceptical thought—as a whole it does not share the sceptical aesthetic and instability of Haywood's earlier texts. However, it does demonstrate significant narrative qualities that have been overlooked. First, although scholars have criticized the central narrative as pointless, by studying the role of judgment in the novel, one can see that the central narrative's attention to autonomy, self-knowledge, and the imagination is like that which is demonstrated in other mid- and late-century novels. Second, although the novel has been dismissed as sentimental, it is only the interpolated tales that fit within this genre. And these tales are not mere 'digressions' as Whicher calls them; rather, they are integral points of contrast and development for the central narrative. In this text, the interpolated tales help Jenny develop the skills she needs so that she can be an impartial spectator even in the theatre that is her own life. As in other texts I have studied in this thesis, in *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*, Haywood combines genres in innovative ways to explore the problem of judgment.

CONCLUSION:

ELIZA HAYWOOD, ENLIGHTENMENT AUTHOR

Eliza Haywood's interest in judgment is perhaps most starkly demonstrated in *The Adventures of Eovaai*, when the young queen is wandering alone, in the barren wasteland of Hypotofa. She has just been given the magical telescope by Halafamai, so she has seen the reality behind her delusions and has been rescued from her captivity, but Halafamai then tells her, 'Here must I leave you to yourself. – Nor can my Power do more than warn you of the Dangers are to come [sic]' (95). Then, Eovaai is lowered from the chariot and 'set down on the Earth' by 'an invisible hand' (95). At this point, she is truly left on her own, and the anxiety of her solitude and indirection is reflected in her thoughts and in the landscape around her:

> What more dreadful than this Solitude can Imagination figure out! No Mark of any Footstep, no Path to direct the forlorn Princess in her uncertain Pilgrimage, no grassy Bank on which she might repose, nor Tree to shelter her from the rude Winds, or more injurious Sun, but all around a Sense of Desolation. She expected no less than to perish, nor indeed was there the least Appearance she should do otherwise; yet did she wander on for several Hours, tho' altogether unsustain'd by Hope; sometimes falling thro' Faintness, and at every Step her tender and delicate Feet smearing with Blood the sharp and flinty Way. (96)

In this striking passage, the barren plain is what she previously saw as a lush and fruitful land. It lies between Ochihatou's Castle and Alhahuza's Castle—between

the libertine minister and the revolutionary republican. The lack of footsteps to follow and the absence of a path to guide her signify that she must find her own way—in terms of both the physical landscape and the political landscape. In other words, she has been left on her own and must discover how to exercise her autonomy as an individual and assert her authority as a queen. Her journey, however, is a frightening one that is confusing and perilous as she faces assaults from various directions. Most vivid, perhaps, is the blood-smeared trail she leaves behind her. This passage captures the anxieties of judgment that I argue dominate Haywood's work. These are not epistemological concerns triggered by curiosity or secrecy, and they do not confine themselves to a feminine province of authority. Rather they are significant problems of judgment and autonomy that demonstrate the anxieties and obstacles that any modern individual must overcome if she is to find her place within a liberal society.

In this thesis, I argue that Haywood is a sceptical writer who should be considered as a serious contributor to the literary tradition of scepticism, and I also argue that her sceptical aesthetic leads to innovation in her work that has been overlooked. My first example is her biography/defence of Duncan Campbell, *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* (1724). This text has been little studied, and those who have studied it have deemed it a 'hack propaganda' piece in support of Campbell, or, at least, as evidence that Haywood believed in his 'second sight' and powers as a fortune-teller.[1] In contrast, I argue that while it is clear that the *narrator* admires Campbell, there are numerous rhetorical and structural elements that suggest a distance between Haywood (the author) and Justicia (the narrator)—a distance that suggests tension between Justicia's claims about Campbell and what the

[1] King, 'Spying', 179; Nussbaum, *Limits*, 51; Nussbaum, 'Speechless', 194-216.

reader should, in the end, believe about him. Ultimately, this tension privileges doubt as the proper method of inquiry for the narrator and for the reader. Not only does the text privilege a position of doubt, but it demonstrates an extreme scepticism about knowledge that puts the text in conversation with other writers—mostly male—who are part of the sceptical tradition. One of these writers is William Bond, who, several years before Haywood's *Spy*, wrote *The Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell* (1720), his own defence of the fortune-teller. His text, which begins with an apparition narrative, reflects work by members of the Royal Society, like Joseph Glanvill, who wrote and defended apparition narratives based on the evidence of experience and testimony from credible 'relators'. Haywood's text, through its unreliable narrator, takes a more skeptical position and directly challenges the credulity and 'naïve empiricism' advocated by many natural philosophers. In addition, Haywood's unreliable narrator, combined with her second-person references to her identified reader, creates an innovative sceptical aesthetic that puts the reader in a position of authority to judge whether Duncan Campbell is legitimate or not. At the same time, however, the text makes it clear that such judgments are nearly impossible to achieve, and therefore the reader's position is an anxious one. This innovative and 'novel' authority advances fictionality at the same time that it advances the reader's capacity for judgment.

The Adventures of Eovaai (1736) is a more complicated text than *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* both in terms of its form and in terms of its investigation into the problems of judgment. A multiplicity of generic labels have been applied to this text, but in my argument I add one more as I argue that the text should be read as a 'mock-history' through which Haywood critiques historical discourse. As in *Spy*,

Haywood is concerned with problems of perception and partiality, but in this political satire of England's Walpolean government, Haywood demonstrates increased attention to the problems of unreliable testimony as a threat to judgment and autonomy. Her attention to the problems of testimony is signalled by her employment of a narrative apparatus that was common to historians who were continually provoked by the potential weaknesses of testimony, which is so foundational to historical knowledge. As Haywood destabilizes this foundation, she, as in *Spy*, enters a traditionally male discourse that invokes the negotiation of credulity and scepticism. In addition, the apparatus of Haywood's mock-history offers an innovative fictional form that pushes the reader into a position of authority. Although other scholars of the text have studied the implications of its form on the reader, they have not recognized the degree to which epistemological anxiety undermines the reader even as it empowers her. My argument also challenges readings that seek to determine Haywood's political alliances; instead, I argue that rather that any particular political ideology, it is Haywood's scepticism about the stability of the social contract that dominates her satire and shapes her innovative fictional structure.

In chapter three, I challenge binary readings of *The Female Spectator* (1744-46) that claim the periodical's persona to be either authoritative or not authoritative. Instead, I demonstrate how, in the periodical, Haywood first establishes an authoritative voice for her eidolon but then later destabilizes that authority in order to continue her project of developing readerly authority. In *The Female Spectator*, this destabilization is triggered by the juxtaposition of a publication issue, or 'book', on lying with another book that contains lies. Although the Female Spectator critiques several kinds of lies, it is her critique of travel

narratives that is most provocative since, after critiquing them, she provides some of her own. Barbara Shapiro asserts that, in the eighteenth-century, travel narratives were perhaps the most significant flashpoint in debates about fact and truth, and Haywood's inclusion of these narratives further demonstrates her interest in the negotiation between scepticism and credulity and, once again, requires her reader to do the difficult work of judging truth from falsehood. However, the reader's task in *The Female Spectator* is less anxiety ridden that those from earlier texts because in this periodical Haywood begins to explore a sociable standard of judgment that mitigates problems of bias that dominate her earlier texts. This sociable process of judgment derives from the relationship between the reader and the periodical's eidolon, the latter of which becomes an 'experimental image' onto which the reader can project judgments. In order to project these judgments onto the experimental image, readers must use their imaginations in ways that prepare them for the increasing intersubjectivity of the novels of the later eighteenth century.

The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy (1753) further develops the pedagogy of sociable judgment that is introduced in *The Female Spectator*. Although I argue that Haywood's last novel is still part of the sceptical tradition—as it clearly advocates a sceptical approach to judgment—it does not share the narrative tension and sceptical aesthetic of the other texts studied in this thesis. Rather than putting the reader in an anxious position of judgment, the novel models an ideal practice of sociable judgment that requires an 'enlarged mentality' by which individuals use their imagination to 'visit' standpoints of other people in order to test their own judgments against those of others. It is, perhaps, surprising that the imagination can improve judgment and mitigate scepticism, but for

Haywood the imagination provides the enlarged mentality necessary for avoiding the errors that stem from bias and the limits of perception. Therefore, in this novel, Haywood challenges Locke's self-reliant empiricism and Descartes's self-reliant rationalism and, instead, prefigures the kinds of judgment that can be found in later thinkers like Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant. In addition, some aspects of sociable judgment in *Jemmy and Jenny* stem from its invocation of the vocabulary and methods of the legal system, thereby demonstrating Haywood's engagement with legal discourse as another flashpoint for debates about testimony and truth. Most importantly, I argue that *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* is more unified and innovative than scholars have allowed. Although the novel traditionally has been dismissed as sentimental, I argue that, in fact, it is only the interpolated tales that are sentimental and that the central narrative is not sentimental. Furthermore, I challenge claims that the interpolated tales are 'digressions' from a pointless central plot, and I demonstrate instead that that they are pivotal to Jenny's development as an impartial spectator. In short, Haywood's last novel has been unjustifiably neglected when it should be studied for its relationship to other mid-century novels and examined as a prototype for novels of the later eighteenth century that focus on issue of intersubjectivity, autonomy, and judgment.

In this thesis, I have shown that Haywood experimented with a diversity of genres and intellectual traditions that dominated the public sphere over the course of her lifetime. Scholars have assumed or argued various causes of the changes in Haywood's work over the course of her career (e.g., personal reform, market

savvy),[2] but my 'long view' of her career shows that a significant force of change in Haywood's work is the regular shifting of ideas in the public sphere. This is, perhaps, a self-evident claim, but it does not seem to have born proper weight on Haywood scholarship. Throughout her career, Haywood was engaged with her contemporaries, and as the concerns of those contemporaries changed, so did her work. In *A Spy Upon the Conjurer*, for example, Haywood is in dialogue with natural philosophers and other writers whose texts put pressure on the tensions between scepticism and credulity, specifically regarding sensory perception and experience. In *Eovaai*, Haywood is still interested in problems of sensory perception, but in that text, she also puts pressure on the nature of historical discourse and the problems that arise from its necessary reliance on testimony. In *The Female Spectator*, Haywood addresses many topics, but it is her inclusion of travel narratives that punctures the narrator's authority and evokes the reader's negotiation between credulity and scepticism. Finally, in *Jemmy and Jenny*, Haywood is not only engaged with the problem of judgment as it relates to the idea of an enlarged mentality and the impartial spectator (themes that later will be of central concern to other writers), but also she uses the language of the legal system to both signify the process of judgment and demonstrate the autonomous status of her heroine. Each of these four texts demonstrates Haywood's engagement with Enlightenment ideas and concerns that were contemporary to their publication, thereby showing that Eliza Haywood, throughout her life, read widely and that she engaged directly with the questions and concerns that dominated the public sphere, especially questions related to judgment, autonomy, and the anxieties and burdens of them both. In short, claims that *Jemmy and Jenny*

[2] Backscheider, 'The Story', 19.

is different from Haywood's early work primarily because it has less sex in it tell only part of the story.

Although other scholars have recognized epistemological themes in individual Haywood texts, this study is the first to examine the specific processes of judgment at work throughout her career, and the first to place Haywood in the sceptical tradition. With this thesis, I fill a gap in Haywood studies that has been created, in part, because of a traditionally narrow focus on issues such as sex, marriage, and curiosity. Alex Pettit has even stated that 'sex, *and not* philosophy, [was Haywood's] favorite topic since her debut in print',[3] but such claims rest on an unnecessary binary distinction, and they oversimplify Haywood's work. Although themes of sexuality and scandal are important in Haywood, their dominance has overshadowed other areas of interest. Therefore, Haywood studies would benefit from scholarship that examines Haywood through a greater variety of lenses, pushing past (or at least complicating) standard debates about sex and courtship in order to connect her individual works to other contemporary concerns and writers. For example, more studies comparing early Haywood with Defoe would be very fruitful. Not only did Haywood and Defoe both write about sex and courtship, but they both wrote about the supernatural, they both demonstrate interests in social contracts and the law, and they both wrote many genre-bending texts that are often difficult to finalize in terms of their political and moral attitudes. In addition, new approaches to the connections between early Haywood and Aphra Behn would be useful. Although the two traditionally have been connected as members (along with Delarivier Manley) of the 'Triumvarite of

[3]Alexander Pettit, "Adventures in Pornographic Places: Eliza Haywood's *Tea Table* and the Decentering of Moral Argument," *Papers on Language and Literature* 38. 3 (2002): 250, emphasis mine.

Wit', the focus on sexuality in their texts, while important, has overshadowed their other concerns about epistemology and judgment. These connections might also lead to additional, productive considerations of Lockean ideas in Haywood's work, thereby furthering the work of scholars like Helen Thompson and Jonathan Kramnick.[4] The fall 2014 special issue of the *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, aptly called, 'New Approaches to Haywood: The Political Biography and Beyond', demonstrates that wider consideration of Haywood is beginning to occur, and the essays in that issue, especially those by Cheryl Nixon, Earla Wilputte, Sarah Creel, and Jenifer Buckley, do exactly what I suggest here as they study Haywood's connections to topics such as the law, the tabloids, portraiture, and 'speculative economics'.[5]

In addition, more attention should be paid to Haywood's work of the late 1740s and early 1750s and to *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* in particular. Haywood's last novel was deemed to be a bad novel as soon as it was released, and 'the Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy tribe' became a catch phrase (coined by Walter Scott) for bad domestic novels of intense sensibility.[6] Perhaps this is why readers have overlooked the degree to which *Jemmy and Jenny* is in dialogue with (and not just a poor imitation of) other novels of the 1750s (such as *Tom Jones*, *Clarissa*, and

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[4] Kramnick, 'Locke, Haywood, and Consent'; Thompson, '*Betsy Thoughtless*'; Thompson, 'An Idea'.

[5] Nixon, 'Regulating the Unstable Family'; Wilputte, 'Haywood's Tabloid Journalism'; Sarah Creel, '(Re)framing Eliza Haywood: Portraiture, Printer's Ornaments, and the Fashioning of Female Authorship, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14.4 (2014): 25-48; Jenifer Buckley, '"Bankrupt in all but my good wishes": Speculative Economics in *Cleomelia; Or, The Generous Mistress, Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14.4 (2014): 79-100. These studies add to existing works that study Haywood's relationship to science, such as Gevirtz, *Women, Natural Philosophy, and the Novel*; and Swenson, 'Optics'.

[6] Spedding, *Bibliography*, 568. After studying this novel, I have, in truth, begun to wonder how many of these early critics actually read it.

The Female Quixote). Although the novel historically has been dismissed, it was clearly well known, as can be inferred from criticism by the likes of Scott, Coleridge, and Thackeray as well as its inclusion by James Harrison in *The Novelist's Magazine* as one of the two texts by Haywood that Harrison 'canonized' (the other was *The Invisible Spy*).[7] Because it was well known, and because of its intersubjectivity, more attention should be paid to its potential influence on later fiction. Another particularly productive area of study for *Jemmy and Jenny* would involve further investigation of law and philosophy in the novel. Although I establish the significance of these elements in this thesis, further study would be fruitful. Of specific value would be inquiry about connections between *Jemmy and Jenny* and Fielding's legal writings, as well as examination of the relationship between ideas of judgment in *Jemmy and Jenny* and the ideas of judgment in works by Adam Smith and David Hume.

Finally, additional work should be done on women and the sceptical tradition. Women writers are woefully neglected in studies of scepticism, and this neglect narrows our understanding of both. Of particular interest should be the fact that traditional scepticism advocates an adherence to custom and the political status quo; however, Haywood, despite her scepticism, often *challenges* the status quo. These challenges demonstrate that our current ideas about scepticism in eighteenth-century literature are limited and partial because of gender bias. A very productive study could be made of the line of scepticism in women's writing that goes from Behn to Austen, with Haywood, Lennox, and Burney bridging the century between them. Such a study would be fascinating and would complicate

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[7] Richard C. Taylor, 'James Harrison, The Novelist's Magazine, and the Early Canonizing of the English Novel', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 33.3 (1993), 639.

the existing narrative about eighteenth-century sceptical literature and thought, while also clarifying the role of mid-century women's fiction.[8]

To my mind, the most important implication of this thesis is that Eliza Haywood should be read not just as an 'Arbitress of Passion' or even as a 'Fair Philosopher', but as a significant Enlightenment author. Currently, this is not always the case. As I noted in the introduction, studies of scepticism in literature do not include Eliza Haywood, and neither do most studies of women and the Enlightenment. For example, Judy A. Hayden's excellent collection of essays *The New Science and Women's Literary Discourse* only includes one reference to Haywood when, in the introduction, Hayden quotes *The Female Spectator's* suggestion that women should study natural philosophy.[9] Haywood is not included in *Women, Writing, and the Public Sphere,* and she is only mentioned once in *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment* (in a brief reference to *Love in Excess*).[10] JoEllen DeLucia's recent book *A Feminine Enlightenment: British Women Writers and the Philosophy of Progress*, *1759-1820*, does not include references to Haywood. Granted, Haywood died before the time period that DeLucia studies, but it is still significant that DeLucia chose to start in 1759 and that Haywood is not considered at all in relationship to 'the Feminine Enlightenment' and the writers

[8] Some work has been done about seventeenth-century female philosophers who challenged custom (see Smith, *Reason's Disciples*; and Smith, 'Intellectual Bases'), but there are no extensive studies that I have found about scepticism and eighteenth-century women literary writers.
[9] Judy A. Hayden, introduction to *The New Science and Women's Literary Discourse: Prefiguring Frankenstein*, ed. Judy A. Hayden (London: Palgrave, 2011), 6.
[10] Elizabeth Eger, Charlotte Grant, Cliona O Gallchoir, and Penny Warburton, eds. *Women, Writing, and the Public Sphere, 1700-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor, eds. *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 462.

who followed her.[11] Compounding the neglect of Haywood in the history of ideas is the neglect of what Betty Schellenberg calls the 'sandwich filling' of women's writing in the long eighteenth century, meaning the writers of the mid-century that are neglected because they are seen as authors of *feminine* rather than *feminist* works.[12] More attention to Haywood's work of the 1740s and 1750s could help us better understand the novel of the mid-century as well as Haywood's connection to later writers, with whom she shares themes of autonomy and judgment.

In her consistent attention to the problems of judgment and autonomy over the course of four decades and multiple genres, Eliza Haywood interrogates the central concerns of the Enlightenment. Also through those multiple genres, she experiments with innovative forms, such as unreliable narrators, scholarly apparatus, and interpolated tales that productively complicate the development of the novel and put pressure on concepts of truth and fictionality. Eighteenth-century readers have been described as struggling in the face of blurred distinctions between fact and fiction,[13] but Kate Loveman has argued persuasively that readers not only understood these differences but also were wary of being fooled.[14] Haywood's sceptical aesthetic effectively exploits this wariness and productively develops a 'novel authority' that leads her readers to become even better judges who can effectively exercise their autonomy as both interpreters of fictions and as citizens of England.

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[11] JoEllen DeLucia, *A Feminine Enlightenment: British Women Writers and the Philosophy of Progress, 1759-1820* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 3.
[12] Schellenberg, *Professionalization*, 3.
[13] See Davis, *Factual Fictions*.
[14] Loveman, *Reading Fictions*; see also Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*; Adams, *Travelers*.

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